National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE LEAGUE WOMEN AND SLAVERY.

From the Springfield Republican.

THE Women's Loyal League, which is only the Garrison Anti-Slavery Society under another name, is circulating petitions to Congress for a law to abolish slavery throughout the Union. Congress will not of course entertain the proposition, because there is no member of that body who does know that they have no power in the case. Somehow our radical friends, who have been denouncing the Constitution for the last quarter of a century as a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell," seem to have got the idea that the war has abolished the Constitution. The rebels think so too. Both are mistaken. The Constitution still lives, and will not only survive war, but bids fair to stand for some blessed centuries of national peace and prosperity yet to come. And it will stand all the firmer and be the more ardently loved and reverenced for that it has withstood alike the assaults of the friends and enemies of liberty through this time of darkness and tempest.

But why do the League women agitate for what they know is impossible? Do they suppose that the government, now that it is achieving its final triumph over rebellion and seeing the consequent and inevitable death of slavery at hand by means accordant with Constitution and law, can be induced to pass an unconstitutional act, that can have no other effect than to make its authors forever infamous? Doubtless these women, and the men who are in the plot with them, expect no such thing. But they have their own purpose to accomplish. They have hitherto been in the van of progress, as they suppose, and now seeing the object they had only talked and scolded for accomplished by the labor and blood of practical, working and fighting men, so leaving them without an irritating theme, they must even take what they absurdly call "an advanced position," and demand impossible and absurd things, so as to keep ahead. They may be well and beneficently intentioned, though it is sometimes hard to see it, but we must believe that it is this feeling that events are taking from them their stock in trade which leads them to make new and preposterous demands upon the government.

Now there is abundance of healthy, necessary, patriotic and Christian work in these times for all genuine reformers. There are tens of thousands of freed negroes to be fed, clothed and instructed. There is work in hospital and field for our soldiers who are fighting the battles of freedom, and doing more for actual progress in a day than ten thousand talkers in convention can accomplish in a generation. And this work is growing upon us. All the maiden philanthropists, of whatever age or sex, may find all the employment they need in such works of charity and mercy. But they should also be told, if they do not already know it, that by asking the government to violate the Constitution in order to manifest a sacred animosity to slavery, they are really doing injury to the cause of the Union. It is of the utmost importance that the government should keep faith with every State of the Union, and an attempt to interfere with the rights of Kentucky or any other loyal State could only have the effect to create hostility and distrust, and to justify these feelings. The border States will abolish slavery if not unjustly interfered with. No man can doubt who watches the course of events. The anti-slavery progress in these States is now more rapid than it ever was in the free States. Let the League women possess their souls in patience, then, and betake themselves to such philanthropic work as offers itself on every hand. If they do this, and have faith as a grain of mustard seed, they shall live to see slavery abolished everywhere, and no damage done to one word of the Constitution, and no indignity to one State of the Union.

JUBILEE OF THE ABOLITIONISTS—WHAT THEY HAVE ACCOMPLISHED.

From Bennett's Herald.

DURING the past week the Abolitionists have been holding a sort of jubilee at Philadelphia. According to all accounts they have had a pretty good time of it. The abolition press has felicitated them, and they have felicitated themselves, upon the great work they have accomplished and the great success they have achieved. *The Tribune* claims for them that they elected President Lincoln in 1860, and states that "posterity will do them justice." Contrary to its usual habit, *The Tribune* is altogether too modest. The Abolitionists have accomplished a good deal more than the election of Lincoln, and, in the matter of doing them justice, we shall proceed to anticipate posterity.

In 1860 the American Abolitionists, pure and simple, numbered about one hundred thousand persons. In 1840, when they ran Mr. Birney for President, the Abolitionists polled seven thousand votes. In 1844, with the same candidate, they polled sixty-two thousand votes. In 1848 they intermingled with the Free Soilers, and gave Van Buren three hundred thousand votes. From that time forth the pure abolition vote is so mixed up with the Free Soil vote and the Republican vote that we cannot get at it with much accuracy. Still, we believe that one hundred thousand is a fair estimate of the number of true, Radical Abolitionists who have followed the flag of Garrison and Phillips, and who are entitled to share in the credit of the abolition work and in the glory which now crowns the labor. In this number we include all such old women as Greeley and such young women as Tilton.

What these one hundred thousand Abolitionists have accomplished may be stated in a very few words. They have accomplished the present war. They have worked for it thirty years, and here it is. They have wrecked a powerful, peaceful and happy country. They have arrayed brother against brother, father against son, children against parents. They have filled the land with widows and orphans. They have transformed the country into a vast graveyard. They have shed an ocean of blood and squandered mountains of money. They have made the air heavy with the shrieks of the wounded, the groans of the dying, and the lamentations of the mourners. They have devastated the fields and plantations of the South and destroyed the commerce of the North. They have given a check to the progress of civilization and democratic institutions from which it will take years to recover. All this they have accomplished in thirty years. One hundred thousand fiends let loose from the lowest hell and inspired by the most infernal malice could not have accomplished more mischief in the same space of time. If this be anything to rejoice over, let the Abolitionists rejoice. If they desire to raise a monument to perpetuate the remembrance of their triumphs, our battle-fields will furnish them with enough human skulls for a pyramid, and Wendell Phillips or Beecher would be only too happy to deliver the address at the laying of the corner skull.

During this abolition war at least one hundred thousand men have been killed, four hundred thousand have been disabled for life: thus half a million have been subjected to death, wounds, and to sickness worse than wounds, in the armies of both sides. What amount of human misery has occurred beyond and behind the armies we shall not now inquire. The amount of property destroyed during the war may be roughly estimated at five hundred million of dollars. The injury inflicted upon our commerce and carrying trade may be stated at one hundred million of dollars. This is rather under than above the mark; for the rebel Maffit asserts that he alone has destroyed eleven million of dollars worth of ships and cargoes, and Semmes has certainly destroyed much more. The war debt of the North and South amounts to about five thousand million of dollars. If the war ends by the abolition of slavery we shall have to keep a standing army of a hundred thousand men and support two or three million of indigent negroes for several years. But we will leave that probability out of the account, and will also refrain from estimating the millions and billions of dollars which the now impeded industry of this country would have produced had not the Abolitionists caused this war. We wish to confine ourselves to facts and figures of indisputable authenticity. And what do these facts and figures show? Estimating the white population of the United States in 1860 at twenty six million—and this is within a few hundreds of the official figures—we find that the Abolitionists have been instrumental in causing the death of one man out of every two hundred and sixty people, and the crippling or otherwise disabling of one man out of every fifty-two people. Also, that the Abolitionists have caused the destruction of property valued at six hundred million of dollars and a war expenditure of about five thousand million. If these are things to be proud of, let the Abolitionists hold a perpetual jubilee.

Taking the above statistics as a basis, a very simple process of arithmetic will demonstrate that each one of our one hundred thousand Abolitionists has caused the death of one man and the life-long disability of four men, and has already cost the country fifty-six thousand dollars. What are the cruelties and the expenses of slavery when compared to this? It is very evident, however, that the loss of life and limb and money during this war should not be so equally divided among our one hundred thousand fanatics. Individual Abolitionists have been more or less guilty according to their opportunities and their influence. Garrison, for example, should have more than one dead man, four wounded and crippled men, and fifty six thousand dollars worth of destroyed property set down to his account. Wendell Phillips is in the same case. Greeley has probably caused the death of at least a thousand men, and the remainder of the injury which he has inflicted on the nation and upon humanity must be increased in proportion. The same remark will apply to Beecher, Cheever, Tilton and such prominent Abolitionists. Sumner, Wilson, Chandler and other abolition politicians have even a larger share for which to answer. This sad account will certainly have to be settled some day—not in this world, perhaps, but certainly in the next. Then, if the Abolitionists can find any food for gladness in these facts, it will be when they enter Hades, and discover that the worse fiends receive them with respect, and that Satan, Mephistopheles, Beelzebub, Moloch and the other devils vacate their thrones to offer the new comers all the insignia of preëminence in evil. The jubilee in Philadelphia will be nothing in comparison to this grand satanic reception.

RIGHTS OF NEGROES.

From The N. Y. Times.

MR. WENDELL PHILLIPS complains of the President's plan of reconstruction, that "it leaves the negro in the hands of the Supreme Court, so far as the Federal power is concerned." We should like to know where Mr. Phillips would have him left. White men of all classes and grades, from the President down to the humblest citizen, are "left in the hands of the Supreme Court." That is for them the highest tribunal in the land. Why should the negro claim or expect any other?

The fact is, Mr. Phillips, and the fanatics who follow his lead, have become complete monomaniacs on the subject of the negro. They have brooded so long over his wrongs that they cannot conceive that anybody else has any rights. They claim for negroes virtues, immunities, privileges and rights, which they would never dream of claiming for whites. They profess to support the Constitution until it stands in the way of their schemes for negro supremacy; then they abandon the Constitution and stand by the negro. Their test of patriotism is devotion to the negro. They are for preserving the Union, if it will help the negroes; if not, they are for destroying it. They are for prosecuting the war because it will help the negroes; if not, they are for peace. Mr. Phillips will infinitely prefer disunion with the abolition of slavery to the Union without it; and so would the great body of those who accept him as their political guide.

It is becoming fashionable in some quarters to speak of this as "*unconditional* loyalty." The men in the Southern States who are for abolishing slavery are called by some of our leading political journals, "unconditional loyalists," while Union men, like Gov. Bramlette, of Kentucky, who are not in favor of it, are sweepingly and remorselessly denounced as semi-Secessionists. Nothing can be more false or unjust. The question of abolition has nothing whatever to do with the question of loyalty. A pro-slavery man *may* be loyal, while many anti-slavery men are certainly and conspicuously disloyal. That man is loyal who is for sustaining the government, crushing the rebellion and preserving the Union *without regard to slavery*. If slavery stands in the way of this result he is for destroying it; if it gets out of the way he will not abandon the Union for the sake of destroying slavery. This is the only line of distinction that can be drawn.

It is quite time that Mr. Phillips and everybody else, North and South, whatever may be their opinion on the subject of slavery, should understand that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, and that by its provisions the Supreme Court is the highest judicial tribunal of the nation. All laws passed by Congress, and all proclamations issued by the President, must abide by its judgment. Every citizen, every inhabitant, black or white, must hold his rights subject to its decisions. And there is nothing in his nature, position, or relations to the government which can make the negro an exception to this necessity.

THE ABOLITION PROGRAMME.

From The World.

WE pollute our columns this morning with a speech of Wendell Phillips, that our readers may see, clearly stated and boldly advanced, the next step in the abolition programme, which first embroiled a nation in war, then prostituted a war for the Union into a war for abolition, and now demands for the negro not merely emancipation, not merely political and social equality with the whites, but also the confiscation of the Southern lands and their division among the blacks. "The North," says Mr. Phillips, "has conquered the South, let her divide it among her nobles, black and white, and we are safe." "Confiscate the land of the South and put it into the hands of the negroes and the white men who have fought for it, and you may go to sleep with your parchment. All will be well." "This nation owes to the negro not merely freedom, but land and education. It is a debt which will disgrace us before the world if we do not pay it. This is the first longing of the negro. His instincts are better than our laws."

Emancipation, abolition, confiscation, Southern lands for landless negroes! This is the programme. *The Tribune* will, as usual wait six months and then follow Wendell Phillips's lead, face foremost. *The Times* will wait about ten months and then follow as usual, back foremost. Meanwhile it squirms in this fashion:

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>
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This is all true of Mr. Phillips. But it is double-faced pusillanimity in *The Times*. There has been no organ of the Administration more servile. It has indorsed all the abolitionism of the Administration and praised Mr. Lincoln as another Washington. Mr. Lincoln and *The Times* practically stand to-day where Wendell Phillips stood a year ago. One year hence it will indorse all that Mr. Phillips advocates now, denouncing in the same breath his programme for the future then ahead. But why this delay? You have the Administration. Follow your leader, gentlemen. Abolition, confiscation, extermination. One step more, O Republicans. Keep in line; no stragglers. Southern lands for Southern slaves!

Selections.

CALHOUN AND GARRISON.

From The Newburyport (Mass.) Herald, Dec. 22.

THE evidence of physical power is in the ability to compel others; and the evidence of intellectual power is in the ability to compel assent, or secure belief. Judged by this rule we have had two great men, mentally great, in this country—John C. Calhoun and William Lloyd Garrison. They were men of an idea to which they devoted all their energies—their absolute life, their entire souls; and those ideas were as directly opposed to each other as was possible. Utter darkness and noon-day brilliancy under a blazing sun could not be more diverse. Calhoun attempted the establishment of the subserviency of the black race to the white, and the perpetuation of patriarchal slavery as a national institution. It was not enough that it should be tolerated—permitted to live in certain States; he argued that it was the decree of nature, and the basis of our government, and the source of our prosperity. The happiness of the black man and the elevation of the white man depended upon it, and its recognition was paramount to all other political questions. On the other hand, Garrison argued that slavery was a sin against God and man, the cause of all our evils, and its overthrow in every State was above all other questions. Calhoun established his theory at the South, so that it became the universal opinion, overruling the theories of Washington, Jefferson, and other statesmen who had preceded him; and the people were willing to live or die by that idea. Garrison established his theory at the North, making it to-day the universal belief, overruling the theories of Webster, Choate, Van Buren, Douglas, and all the politicians of the North who have passed away, and compelling the assent of the older politicians, like Everett, Dickinson and others, Whigs and Democrats of the past, who remain now, but who have been intensely Southern in all their thoughts and action. There is no prominent man in all the rebel States today, that lifts his voice against the creed of John C. Calhoun, and adopts the theory of Jefferson; and in the North there is no prominent man who denies the creed of William Lloyd Garrison, and dares to maintain openly and boldly, that plan of political action upon which Webster, Clay, and Benton governed this country. The South is one big Calhoun; and the North is one bigger Garrison.

It is most singular, too, that both these men, in case of failure to establish their theories for the whole country, adopted the same finality—the division of the country and the destruction of the government. Calhoun, who was a statesman, wrought out a subtle argument which mystified thousands, and blinded all whose interests were with his, sustaining as constitutional doctrine the right of States to secede. Garrison, who was no politician, and declined even to vote, arguing that the government itself was a wrong, based his action upon moral right. He stood above the Constitution, which he trampled beneath his feet and publicly burned on the Fourth of July, in imitation of Martin Luther (who committed the Pope's Bull to the flames), and claimed that all laws opposed to divine law—that is according to his interpretation of divine law—were a nullity, and individual conscience was above the Constitution. Thus he placed his own reason, his educated sense of right and wrong, his will, against the majority, and commenced his revolution by asserting the divine right of moral treason, which, descending from abstract philosophy, must of course with practical, political men, who endorsed it, soon become concrete treason. Both came to the same termination. Calhoun's peaceable secession and Garrison's higher law non-resistance, led directly to blood, revolution, anarchy; and it is impossible in looking back to say which accomplished the most to bring on this dire final ity; when opinions that were treated as simply ridiculous at first, have so far prevailed as to lead to the greatest convulsion of modern times, to the organizing of the largest armies and the fighting of the greatest battles that this country has known.

Never did men start upon more unpromising missions than Calhoun and Garrison; and it is doubtful if either of them expected that his ideas would be received by the opposite section of the country. More probable is it that both designed, as they advocated, a dissolution of the Union. And with this before him, what more hopeless task did man ever undertake than William Lloyd Garrison. Before he could succeed, he must create a moral feeling hostile to slavery, that would make the people who were of the same race and language and religion—who all had the same domestic institutions originally—who united to form one government, and had stood shoulder to shoulder in the same war for its establishment, Northern men fighting upon Southern soil as their own, and Southern men leaving their bones to bleach on Northern battle-fields—who had been one in their sacrifices to form the Constitution and in their elections under it; he must make the people so united forget all the ties of the past, and snap [illegible] the train by about five minutes, as the out of the question; hence, I decided [illegible] another hour I felt was passenger cars. Soon one came along with but [illegible] the city in it, and into it I walked with a man who had been to the camp with me (but fortunately he happened to be of the approved complexion), and took a seat. Quickly the conductor approached me and I tendered him the fare for us both (the man alluded to being in my employment). The conductor very cordially received the money, but before he took time to hand me the change that was due to me, invited me to "step out on the platform." "Why is this?" I remarked. "It is against the rules," he added. "Who objects?" I inquired. "It is the aristocracy," he again added. "Well, it is a *cruel rule!* and I believe this is the only city of note in the civilized world, where a decent colored man cannot be allowed to ride in a city passenger car. Even the cars which were formerly built in Philadelphia for New Orleans were not devoid of accommodations for colored people inside," I continued. "And now, with regard to the aristocracy, I do not believe the blame rests with them; for I happen to be one of a committee who some time back brought this question before the public in the shape of a petition, and it was very freely signed by hundreds of the most respectable citizens; by leading clergymen, lawyers, doctors, editors, merchants, etc., amongst whom were Bishop Potter, Hon. Horace Binney, etc., and some of the railway presidents besides." Of course, the conductor declared that he had no objections himself, but continued to insist that it was "the rules."

"Who is the President of this road?" I inquired. After pausing for a moment (what he meant I know not), he answered by saying he believed his name was "Mr. Whartman."

"A former President," I remarked, declared to a committee that "no such rules had ever been made on this road."

I told him that I paid taxes, etc., but of course it was all of no avail.

Riding on the platform of a bitter cold day like this I need not say is almost intolerable, but to compel persons to pay the same as those who enjoy comfortable seats inside by a good fire, seems quite atrocious.

Yet I felt, under the circumstances, compelled to submit to the wrong, for the sake of arriving at my place of business in due time. But before I arrived at my destination it began to snow, which, as I was already thoroughly chilled with the cold, made the platform utterly intolerable; hence, I concluded to walk the rest of the distance, and accordingly got off, feeling satisfied that no where in Christendom could be found a better illustration of Judge Taney's decision in the Dred Scott case, in which he declared that "black men have no rights which white men are bound to respect," than are demonstrated by the "rules" of the passenger cars of the City of Brotherly Love.

The Judge's decision and the "rules" have harassed me every moment since. I try to think of cannibals in heathen lands and traitors in the South, and wrongs generally, but it is all to no purpose—this car inhumanity sticks to me.

"But this is only an individual case, hence but a trifling matter," you may think, Mr. Editor. Far from it, sir. Every colored man, woman, and child of the entire 25,000 inhabitants of this city, many of whom are tax payers, and as upright as any other class of citizens, are daily liable to this treatment. The truth is, so far as my case is concerned, I fared well, compared with the treatment some have received. A long catalogue of injuries and outrages could be recounted, but suffice it to remind your readers of only one or two instances:

A venerable old minister of the Gospel, in going from here to his home at Frankford, one dark, cold, and rainy night last Winter, while occupying the only place on the platform assigned for colored people, was killed. Who has forgotten this fact?

One more instance, and I will relieve you. One evening, in going home from a lecture, two elegantly-dressed young women stepped into a car, and took seats. The conductor courageously brought the rules forward, and one of them instantly stepped out, while the other remained. The car was stopped, and the conductor seized her, and actually, by physical force, thrust her out of the car. The father of this young woman pays several hundred dollars taxes annually; keeps his horse and carriage, and lives as nicely as most respectable citizens. But the God-given hue of the skin of his daughter rendered her obnoxious to the rules of the railway company, and she had to meekly submit to the outrage.

Respectfully, WM. STILL.

Philadelphia, Dec. 11, 1863.

THE SLAVE AS AFFECTED BY THE REBELLION.

[The following are extracts from a letter written by a loyal Tennessecan to a gentleman in Salem, Mass. They give his views of the condition of the slave as affected by the Rebellion, and will interest many as the opinions of one who has lived for many years in a slave State and watched the working of the institution through all the recent troubles:]

THE South, as we used to say she would be, is fast becoming a desolation. Her slaves are, at least in the border States, perfectly demoralized; very few of them remain with their original owners. The crack of the whip has ceased forever, and so soon, that even where we see it, we can hardly realize the fact. It is no strange thing now to see the African well armed and equipped in our midst, with stalwart arm bearing the flag of our country. A few days since a black company raised here paraded our streets with the old silk flag of the Rock City Guard. This flag had been given in 1851 to a company of that name by the ladies of this city, embroidered by their own hands—this flag in the hands of their slaves parading our streets! If there was anything wanting to show them how low they and their cause had fallen, it was this, and so they felt it, as crowds of boys and men cheered the passing company, while their musicians played Hail Columbia.

In the Board of Claims here it is no uncommon thing to have a bill come in headed or conc[illegible] with fift[illegible]rty slaves, at an average o[illegible] twelve [illegible]ollars each. The Boar[illegible] strike th[illegible]ill, telling them that the United don't trade in that kind of stock, nor pay for men who dare assert their freedom. The blow upon the South is fearful—they feel it; the Emancipation Act is the death of them, and you will see it. They are now as bitter as new convicted felons. Their sins have found them out, and repentance will come one of these days, perhaps too late. Their entire producing power is destroyed, demoralized and defiant; every day of war makes it worse of course. This year they have made their bread. Next year they won't make anything; how are they to do it? All negroes far from us are sent into the Gulf States for safety. The black population already very large, will double there; what then? Our armies will follow on their track; where then will they send their slaves? If we are tardy in our movements how are these negroes to be kept in subordination? How to be employed, how clothed and fed? What will they do with them? As soon as Georgia feels our arms, there will be a perfect stampede towards the border States of these poor creatures. It will be like opening the bars of their prisons. They (sent there for safety) will carry all before them toward these States, and the consequences will be fearful to them, and perhaps us, unless our government devise some plan, not only to ensure their liberty, but to employ them so that the coming year they may have homes and bread. They will have no difficulty in supporting themselves if you devise some system before they become a demoralized ruin. We must save this people, not only from oppression, but from vice and crime incident to a soldier's camp. The hand of God is in this matter, we can't stay it. Slavery, the darkest relic of the darkest age, is doomed and gone forever, but our work is not yet begun; we must save this long oppressed race from utter ruin; the Christian, the philanthropist, must put forth their strength and complete the work begun with the sword of justice; the spare lands of the South must be given to these homeless creatures; they must have some vested rights therein, at least enough to say, "I have a home."

This is a work of great magnitude; if done completely, in ten years from the end of this war our soil will produce more cotton, sugar and tobacco than it ever did, and the foot-prints of war will have passed away forever from our land. We must go on to the end, our hands are on the plough, God put them there, we can't look back now, 'tis too late. Every slave in the South is wanted there to till the soil. Give them homes, encourage them, let them feel the benefit of liberty by giving them the fruit of their toil. Why should the negroes be turned from their original quarters which their rebel masters have forfeited? In many cases the master has abandoned them and the land on which they live; in all cases have forfeited their claims to either by treason, and I believe justice should give these poor creatures homes in the [illegible] early sorrows and tears.—*Salem (Mass.) Register.*

PROGRESS IN LOUISANA.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Times.

NEW ORLEANS, Dec., 1863.

THE Workingmen's Association is composed mainly, as its name indicates, of workingmen; and is already taking so active a part as to promise, at no distant date, to entirely revolutionize the social condition of this State.

Apart from the inherent qualities of slavery, whatever men may choose to think of its divinity or accursedness as regards the black man, there can be no question whatever as to the depressing influence it has ever exerted upon the *white* masses—reducing the free white men of these Southern States to the condition of feudalism, in which they could not think, speak or act but precisely as their self-appointed lordlings decreed that they should. I have read of men being suddenly struck dumb by some violent concussion of air, but the loud thunder of this war seems to have acted in a directly opposite manner, and given speech to millions who had hitherto been tongued-tied by the resistless influence of Southern despots.

This movement of the workingmen of Louisana is striking at the very marrow of this question. It is asserting the dignity of labor over the pretensions of capital, so impudently set forth by Alexander H. Stephens, as the foundation of this whole secession movement; it is giving the world to understand that the people of Louisana comprehend full well that, however slavery may be the lever, there is an aim among these arch-conspirators against the country, going far beyond the retention of power over the black man—an aim that would never be gratified until all power and influence were centered into the hands of the few, and the vast majority of white men reduced to a condition nothing less than vassalage.

To understand their danger is to half overcome it; and I have no doubt whatever that the movement now going on here among the workingmen will be productive of the most rapid and extraordinary results. It is not here alone that the good work is proceeding. In the country districts, among men who have hitherto never had a thought but what was reflected from the wealthy landlord who overshadowed them, proselytes are actively engaged in expounding the principles of manhood and independence. Men are beginning to stand erect in the presence of their Maker; and the same gun at Sumter which struck off the fetters from millions of black slaves taught millions of white men in the South, for the first time, the monstrous extent to which they have hitherto been trampled down by the self-created oligarchs of slavery. Let this movement go on but a little longer, and the infernal doctrine of "*Capital must own labor*" will have to be preached in other ears than those of the free workingmen of Louisana.

The State election still causes much discussion, and is really a very difficult question to determine. All true Union men here are, I imagine, agreed upon the point that a State election would be a good thing, and I think they are also agreed that, in any new Constitution which the people may choose to make, nothing less than a Free State one will be adapted to the present condition and future welfare of Louisiana. But there is a vast diversity of opinion, among good loyal men, as to whether or not the fruit is yet ripe for plucking.

Some say that it is; that by administering the oath of allegiance we shall be able to separate the wheat from the chaff, and thus carry a vote in favor of freedom. They say that even admitting that, by necessity, the vote would be a partial one, from the fact of the Federal forces being at present in possession of only a part of the State, the vote would soon follow and endorse any Free State action, as rapidly as our victorious arms advance.

The others, again, do not take so sanguine a view of matters. As to the oath of allegiance, they consider that that simply amounts to nothing at all. Men will call themselves Unionists, take the oath of allegiance, and immediately throw their ballots in favor of the perpetuation of slavery. What, they ask, is to prevent them? Before we throw down the gauntlet, had we not better be sure we can whip the men who venture to pick it up? Such men say the fruit is not ripe. Let us, for the present, be content with the military government we have, and it will be time enough to talk of convening for a new Constitution after we have more fully overcome the organized forces of the enemy and hold more complete control over the territory of the State.

I have heard it stated here, by those who should be well-informed, that the urging forward of this important matter comes from a source far higher than Gov. Shepley, and that would seem an earnest of it's being speedily put to a test. The same caution, however, which we have been taught to expect from such a quarter will prevent the good work from being spoiled by any rashness or over haste. No precise time has yet been fixed, and it is only given out that when a sufficient number of loyal votes shall have been registered the election shall take place. A sufficient number is, of course, a term capable of rather wide application, and I have no doubt that, to whatever conclusion he may come, Gov. Shepley will be guided only by what is safest and best for bringing about the result at which all good Union men are aiming—the return of Louisiana into the Union without a stain of slavery upon her skirts. NEMO.

CONSERVATIVES OPENING THEIR EYES.

[The Newburyport *Herald*, heretofore a fierce pro-slavery sheet, interprets the signs of the times and the course of public opinion as follows:]

SLAVERY is to be abolished before this war closes, come what will, oppose it what will, and cost what it may. The political opposition may say that the people do not have freedom to express themselves; that does not matter; they will not stop upon any nice points; an expression will be had, and recorded. They may tell us that the Union—as we have understood it—cannot so be restored, or the Constitution [illegible]. Let it be so; some Union—a union of [illegible]an be had from the Lakes to the Gulf, [illegible] the Constitution will be in force with all "the modern improvements." The past is a closed book, and whatever we may have wished, or believed, or labored for, we may as well prepare for the present as it is, and let the future look out for itself. If it is better than the past, we shall be the gainers; and if worse, we shall only share the common lot; but better or worse, it is useless to whine and grumble about what the people have determined shall be; and if we read aright the signs of the times, the popular decree runs thus: First, that this country shall be one nation; not an acre or rod of it to be given up, if the war must go on forever and eternally for its unity, and though we shall have to lay waste State after State, till a territory bigger than all of Western Europe shall be turned to desert—depopulated and denuded—for that end. Second, that slavery shall be wiped out. The cause of the war shall be removed, more completely than was the human race destroyed by the great flood, not eight persons surviving in servitude to tell the story of the past. Thirdly, that the present Administration—the government—is to continue in power as long as the war lasts; Abraham Lincoln, who was constitutionally and properly elected to be President of all the States, to be President till his authority is recognized in every State that was within the Union at the time of his election. If this is not the meaning of present history, it is written in characters that we do not understand; if this is not the decision of the late elections, we fail to appreciate them; if this is not the popular voice, then the people misuse the words they utter.

[The Pittsburg *Post*—a Copperhead organ, with "The Union as it Was" for its motto—has a leader on "The Future of Slavery," which closes as follows:]

We feel satisfied that the future peace of this now bleeding and distracted country, requires the total extinction of slavery among us. We do not allude to its eradication this year or next, or whether it shall disappear in this generation or in the next; our idea is that its final abolition, at some fixed period, is necessary for the future peace of this Republic. One of the results of the present rebellion will be the weakening, or, perhaps, destruction of one of its causes—slavery in the South. With that, will follow the death of Abolition among ourselves. Then, after the terrible experience of the present times, our country will be recreated, and increased civilization, on luminous wings, will spread its blessings upon a regenerated Republic, destined to be the greatest nation upon which the sun has yet shone.

LETTER FROM ROBERT DALE OWEN.

THE PARDONING POWER—HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS.

To the Editor of The New York Tribune.

SIR: Now that the President has resorted, as a measure of reconstruction, to the pardoning power on conditions, and has issued to the inhabitants of the insurgent States a Proclamation of Amnesty, a few historical facts in connection with the employment of that power in times past will probably interest your readers.

The Heads of Nations have been wont, in contingencies similar to that before us, to exercise the power of pardon, with the approbation of mankind. So Charles II., about to return to England after the death of Cromwell, in 1660. So George II., at the close of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745.

In both these noted examples, pardon was granted on conditions to be formally accepted; and it was granted, of course, without reference to sentences of condemnation obtained against individuals for the offense pardoned.

In the case of Charles II. it was issued, under date April 16, 1660, from Breda, and was entitled: "An Act of free and general pardon, idemnity, and oblivion"; of which the essential portion is in these words:

> "We do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready upon demand, to pass under our Great Seal of England, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after the publishing thereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favor, and shall, by any public act, declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty or obedience of good subjects, excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament."—[Parliamentary History of England, Vol. IV., p. 15.

Here the acceptance of the pardon was to be signified on the part of each individual, by a "public act," declaring his return to loyalty and obedience; and the pardon was granted on condition of the execution of such public act within forty days, and extended to those only who complied with this condition.

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The pardon of George II. in favor of the Scottish insurgents who had fought for the Pretender, was issued in 1747, under the title: "An Act for the King's most gracious, general, and free pardon."—[Cap. 52, 20 Geo. II., A. D. 1747, "Statutes at Large," London, 1786, Vol. VI., p. 392.] It was clogged with about eighty exceptions, recited by name; some of whom were condemned to death, but the greatest part were pardoned on condition of banishment.

Cap. 46, 20 Geo. II., A. D. 1747, is entitled: "An Act to prevent the return of such rebels and traitors concerned in the late rebellion as have been, or shall be, pardoned on condition of transportation, and also to hinder them going into the enemies country.—[Statutes at Large," Vol. VI., p. 385; see also "Mahon's History of England," Vol. III., p. 479.]

In our own history but a single insurrection or rebellion deserving the name has occurred, previously to that which is now in progress; namely, the insurrection of 1794, in certain Western counties comprising the Fourth Survey of Pennsylvania, caused by an attempt to obstruct the execution of the acts for raising a revenue on distilled spirits and stills. Although this outbreak, lasting about four months, created in the minds of the timid fears as to the stability of the government, yet it is doubtful if the rebels had, at any time, at their disposal, over 15,000 men; and it does not appear that the Union was ever seriously threatened.

On the 10th of July, 1795, the President, George Washington, issued a Proclamation, "granting pardon to the Western Insurgents"; in which, after reciting that certain Commissioners appointed by him "to confer with the citizens in the Western Counties of Pennsylvania" had promised in his name that if assurances of submission to the laws should be subscribed by the citizens concerned in the insurrection a general pardon should be granted for all offenses against the United States committed by these persons previous to the 22d of August, 1794, he proceeds:

> "Therefore be it known that I George Washington, President of the United States, have granted, and by these presents do grant a full, free and entire pardon to all persons (excepting as is hereinafter excepted) of all treasons, misprisions of treason and other indictable offences against the United States, committed within the Fourth Survey of Pennsylvania before the said 22d of August last past, ex-

cepting and excluding therefrom, nevertheless, every person who refused or neglected to give and subscribe the said assurances in the manner aforesaid (or, having subscribed, hath violated the same) and now standeth indicted or convicted of any treason, misprision of treason or other offence against the United States, hereby remitting all penalties incurred, or supposed to be incurred, for or on account of the premises."

This insurrection broke out in the Summer of 1794. In July of that year, 500 armed men resisted the officers of the law and burned the Inspector's house. By the 1st of August the number of insurgents under arms had swollen from 5,000 to 7,000 men, who assembled on that day, at Braddock's Field, on the Monongahela. At a later period they are said to have had the control of 16,000 men.

The President issued a Proclamation warning the insurgents of the pains and penalties of treason, and commanding them to disperse. Afterward he appointed three Commissioners to confer with the leading rebels, who at first evaded all satisfactory terms, but finally, after the President had called out 15,000 militia to suppress the insurrection, gave way and agreed to the signature by the inhabitants of the insurgent district of articles of submission to the laws of the United States, the Commissioners covenanting that on such conditions they should be pardoned. This restored tranquility; but 2,500 troops remained, throughout the Winter of 1794-5, encamped in the insurrectionary district.—["History of the United States," by George Tucker, Vol. I., pp. 551 to 558. Also, "History of the United States of America," by Richard Hildreth, Vol. IV., pp. 498 to 516.]

The final pardon by President Washington, it will be observed, is granted conditionally, the condition being the signing of certain articles of submission. All indicted or convicted rebels who refused or neglected to subscribe, or having subscribed afterward violated the conditions, are excepted.

Notwithstanding such precedents, there will be found many objections to this proposed exercise of clemency, and to the prudent and necessary conditions attending it, as an arbitrary exercise of the one-man power. These objections will come from men who are in the habit of lauding, as the only bulwark of liberty, the Constitution of the United States, as often as it suits their purpose of the hour, and condemning the very carrying out of its clearest provisions, whenever these run counter to partisan aims and sordid intrigues.

These men seem to take pleasure in forgetting what many of us thoughtlessly fail to bear in mind—that when a government founded on the popular will has shown itself to be just, forbearing, free from tyranny or oppression, resorting to force only at the last moment, and up to the time it was assailed productive to millions of freemen of a security and a prosperity scarcely matched in all history, treason against it is one of the blackest of human crimes. Can any man estimate, can the imagination adequately picture, the misery in countless shapes that has already been the result of that stupendous crime? Far more than this, can any man even imagine what might have been the direful consequences for generations to come had treason succeeded in her parricidal attempt—had Gettysburg and half a dozen more such fields each witnessed the overwhelming defeat of the Union arms? Who can tell, in such a contingency, into how many petty sovereignties this American Union would have dwarfed down? what endless jealousies, what countless wars, might have sprung up between these rival fragments—fragments never more, it may be, in our day, or in the days perhaps of our children's children, again to be united into one great nation commanding and deserving the respect of mankind?

Does such a crime as that need no pardon? Its authors once subdued, do they become innocent in virtue of that subjugation? Is no purgation required? Offenses should be forgiven. The prodigal son was received again to his paternal home. But not until he had abjured his riotous life; not until his humility and repentance had found words: "Father, I have sinned against Heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son; make me as one of thy hired servants." Unrepented crime cannot, consistently with public order, be passed by unnoticed and unpunished. Why, else, our criminal courts and our penitentiaries?

It is a solemn thing to admit once more within the peaceful precincts of the Union, insurgents who for years have been aiming deadly blows at its existence. We forgive much, if we receive again to full fellowship all who exhibit a spirit of contrition, and if we respect the lives and the personal liberty even of the uncontrite and contumacious. If, in the future, the peaceful conduct of these latter should commend their case to favor, it will be time enough to remit any portion of their political disabilities. To go further at present, would be to proclaim immunity to crime and to hand down to posterity the teaching that, in these United States, treason may stalk abroad with impunity, and assault, without fear of punishment, the life of the Nation itself.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
ROBERT DALE OWEN.

New York, Dec. 14, 1863.

WHAT WENDELL PHILLIPS SAYS AND THINKS.

New York Correspondence of The Springfield Republican.

WENDELL PHILLIPS comes to-night to say his say about the President's Message. A lawless and rampant say it will be, no doubt. Spiced with all manner of pungent pellets, ambrosially cool and clear in style, but radical to the crazy point, and so, "pity 'tis 'tis true," practically ineffective. The message will not suit him because it is so adapted to present means and opportunities, so beautifully practicable. With his fine head and eagle eye always in another age, he is not content to see visions and prophesy great events, to hurl his fiery javelins at freedom's foes, but he must needs let fly Parthian arrows at even those who are fighting, with the best weapons they can command, his very own monster, who mean to fight it to the death. Yet we shall all go to hear him. How can we help it? There is something sublime, after all, in his position. His fearlessness, his persistency, his intentness, his absoluteness, his really lofty and beneficent aim! Then, too, he commands his auditory, even when it is made up in part of dissenters, rioters. *The Christian Examiner*, and there could be no no better authority, after ranking Mr. Phillips as the first forensic orator of our land at the present day, pays this just tribute to his singleness of soul: "He is saturated with unselfish purpose." After all, I would rather be the prince of radicals than a musty, fusty, petrified, plausible, politic, time-serving conservative, a smooth, oily, Bible-perverting conserver of slavery and all its abominations! Yet some of this class still sit in judgment chairs, and stand in pulpits; judges of the Supreme Court, doctors of divinity! Heaven save the mark! And this reminds me that I have been reading and enjoying Ruffin's Vincenzo, and that this passage occurs in it: "True conservatism consists in preserving the good and getting rid of the bad"; an excellent rendering, it seems to me, of modern republicanism, which is certainly the golden mean of political creeds. But I am getting drearily strong-minded, and at least one pair of eyes, large, mild, blue, manful eyes, dear, loving, conserving eyes, will look depreciation or imprecation—which?—as they read. I must beat a graceful retreat into another sphere. So I make my best bow, and vanish from the forum.

THE COLONIZATION BUBBLE BURST.

[The President, in obedience to "Conservative" prejudices, and rejecting as "impracticable" the counsel of the Radicals, who contended that it was the height of folly to talk of exporting the laborers of the country, has been trying for nearly two years past to inaugurate a scheme for the colonization of emancipated slaves. He has spent a large sum of money, with what result the following extract from the report of the Secretary of the Interor will show.]

I AM unable to report any greater disposition, generally, among the colored persons, for whose colonization provision was made by certain recent acts of Congress, to emigrate, than had been exhibited at the time of your last annual message. Since that time, however, about 450 have been deported to the Ile de Vache, adjacent and belonging to the Republic of Hayti. The condition of this colony has been variously represented, and an agent has been deputed by the government to visit the island and report the real situation of affairs, and the future prospects of the emigrants there. They were emigrated under a contract entered into for that purpose, with persons who were represented as possessing every qualification and fitness for insuring the success of the experiment; but nothing has yet been paid them under it, nor will there be until the report of the agent shall have been received and found to justify it.

Independent of the seeming unwillingness of this class of persons to leave the United States, the experience the country has derived since the passage of the acts of Congress on the subject of colonization, and the action of the government toward them in adopting the able-bodied men into its armies, render it a question of great importance whether the effort to colonize them beyond the limits of the United States should be continued, unless the way should be opened for the establishment of a friendly colony in some one of the Central American States, at a favorable commercial point, for traversing that country by a new route to the Pacific.

Although much prejudice had been manifested throughout most of the Free States in regard to the introduction of colored persons therein, there is a place where many of them can now be advantageously employed at remunerative prices, and where the objection to color does not exist. I refer to the line of the Pacific Railroad. Upon this work there are already about 300 free colored laborers, out of 1,500 employed, and I am assured they perform their duty faithfully and well. This department has been repeatedly urged to use its influence to cause as many colored laborers as can be procured to be employed on this work, and it is worthy of consideration, therefore, whether the money appropriated to remove those who are now a charge upon the government to foreign countries will not be more judiciously employed in transporting them to those fields of labor within the dominions of the United States where they are wanted and where they will be welcomed. In this way the expense to which the government is now subjected will be greatly diminished, and we shall have the satisfaction of placing these people in a position of usefulness, security and peace, where they will be instrumental in the construction of a work in which the nation has, of all others, save the putting down of this rebellion, the greatest interest.

From Wilkes's Spirit of the Times.

We are in possession of information direct from the West Indies, that the famous scheme gotten up by the President and the optimist of the State Department, for the extradition of the negro element of the United States to the *Isle de Vache*, has utterly failed, and that the colony planted in that place, under their auspices, is on the very verge of ruin. An agent of the government, who was sent there by the Secretary of the Interior to inquire into the affairs of the concern, has just returned, and reports that the colony is well nigh starved to death, and that unless the government send a steamer to return them to the United States very soon, not one of them will be left alive. It appears that the parties upon whom Seward conferred this profitable job, have been treating the colonists with the most shocking barbarity, and that nothing is more common with the local agents of these model philanthropists than to administer public flaggellations and prolonged confinement in the stocks. While this has been going on, and in face of the fact that the administrators of the colony have offered to sell it, with the poor devils left alive upon it, as its "stock," for the sum of $15,000, they have been constantly bedeviling the Secretary for the sum of $80,000 as charges for transporting and maintaining them. It was these demands which first induced the Secretery to send out an agent to inspect, and the result of his report is that Mr. Usher will not pay a cent. The agent, moreover, reports that all the original statements of the company were false. That the island which was represented as an earthly paradise, bearing two crops a year, is a barren sand bank, capable only of growing wild woods and prickly pear. The negroes, sinking under their misfortunes, are dying rapidly, while those which survive are begging to come back to the United States to enter the armies of the country. Thus ends Seward's African Utopia, and we fear that unless a little wholesome direction be imparted to its finish, it may wind up in a wholesale horror. There is the greater reason to fear this, as the managers of the concern have recently sent letters to Washington, threatening, unless relieved, to sell the whole thing out.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 2, 1864.

THE EDITOR heartily wishes his readers, one and all, "A HAPPY NEW YEAR."

THE THIRTIETH
NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

THE Managers of the THIRTIETH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY hereby announce to its numerous friends and patrons, and to the friends of liberty and emancipation universally, that it will be held, as hitherto, in MUSIC HALL, Boston, on Wednesday evening, January 27th, 1864; and they confidently anticipate not only the same thronged attendance and liberal patronage that have hitherto been extended to it, but a cheering increase of both, in view of the wonderful change which has been wrought in public opinion, on the subject of slavery, since the rebellion broke out, adverse to the longer continuance of that "sum of all villanies."

The special object of this Anniversary has been, from year to year, to replenish the treasury of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and thus enable it to keep in operation those potent instrumentalities whereby the public conscience has been aroused, the public understanding enlightened, and the public heart softened, in regard to the pitiable condition of the millions of bondmen and bondwomen whose deliverance, though manifestly approaching, yet remains to be consummated. To that Society is the whole country most deeply indebted for its unfaltering, courageous and inflexible opposition to slavery as a system, and to the Slave Power as inimical to every element of Democracy and Christianity, through a long period of years; and it is now widely and magnanimously conceded that, if its solemn warnings, powerful appeals, and prophetic asseverations had been duly heeded, the present awful tragedy of rebellion and civil war might have been averted, and the abolition of slavery secured without violence or blood.

The American Anti-Slavery Society has recently celebrated, at Philadelphia, its THIRD DECADE, or thirtieth anniversary since its formation. The occasion was one of thrilling interest and stirring remembrance—calling, in the retrospect of the past, for devout thanksgiving to the God of the oppressed for what had been effected by the power of His truth, and inspiring to new labors to secure the liberation of every slave in the land. While the great concourse of "the tried and true," who were present, were made jubilant by all the [illegible] of the times; and while they expressed a confident hope that the monster slavery had received its death-wound through its treasonable revolt aainst the General government; still, there was entire unanimity in the conviction that the Society should not think, for one moment, of retiring from the conflict until liberty is "proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

Judge CONWAY, of Kansas, in a letter read on the occasion, regretting his absence, said—"I recognize in the American Anti-Slavery Society the primal agent in the regeneration of the American nation which is now in progress. The ultimate triumph of liberty is assured. Thank God, the future is ours! But this assurance should in no wise inspire us with indifference to the progress of events. We must not suppose that *our* part of the work is finished. *The American Anti-Slavery Society must not think of retiring from the field for many a long day yet.* The future is ours; but we must do the work necessary to perfect the results."

On the same occasion, the Hon. HENRY WILSON, of Massachusetts, in the course of an eloquent speech said—"By years, by epochs alone, can we measure the progressive advancement of a movement so grand and comprehensive as the anti-slavery movement in America. What mighty changes have been wrought in the condition of the anti-slavery cause in the United States since the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized by representatives of ten States in 1833! Then a few unknown and nameless men were its apostles; now the most accomplished intellects in America are its champions. Then a few proscribed and hunted followers rallied around its banners; now it has laid its grasp upon the conscience of the nation, and millions rally around the folds of its flag. Then not a statesman in America accepted its doctrines or advocated its measures; now it controls more than twenty States; has a majority in both houses of Congress, and the Chief Magistrate of the republic decrees the emancipation of three million men. Then every free State was against it; now Western Virginia, Delaware, Maryland and Missouri pronounce for the emancipation of their bondmen. Then the public press covered it with ridicule and contempt—now the most powerful journals in America are its organs, scattering its truths broadcast over all the land. Then the religious, benevolent and literary institutions of the land rebuked its doctrines and proscribed its advocates—now it shapes, moulds and fashions them at its pleasure. Then political organizations trampled disdainfully upon it—now it looks down in the pride of conscious power upon the wrecked political fragments that float at its feet. Then it was impotent and powerless—now it holds public men and political organizations in the hollow of its hand. Then the public voice sneered at and defied it—now it is master of America, and has only to be true to itself to bury slavery so deep that the hand of no returning despotism can reach it." In concluding his speech, Mr. Wilson admonishingly remarked—"I say to you, Mr. President, and to the anti-slavery men of the United States, who have rejected the subtle policy of concession and compromise, who have repudiated the guilty delusion that the sin of slavery belongs to past generations and repentance to posterity, you who have perpetually sounded into the ear of the nation the sin of oppression and the duty of repentance, go not home with the conviction that your work is done, but go home cheered by the assurance that the battle is going on for you; that you have stormed battery after battery, carried position after position; that you have only to be as true in the future as you have been in the past, to secure a permanent and enduring triumph. If the nation had accepted your doctrine of peaceful, legal, Christian action, this bloody war would never have come upon us. The crimes of two centuries have brought this terrible war upon us; but if this generation, upon whom God has laid His chastisements, will yet be true to liberty and humanity, peace will return again to bless this land now rent and torn by civil strife. Then we shall heal the wounds of war, enlighten the dark intellect of the emancipated bondman, and make our country the model Republic to which the Christian world shall turn with respect and admiration."

When such are the convictions and assurances of distinguished public men, not connected with the American Anti-Slavery Society, in regard to the value and magnitude of the work it has accomplished, and the further need and importance of the Society in perfecting what remains to be done, surely it is no time to think of disbanding, or of cherishing the pleasing illusion that the victory is won, and therefore we may safely trust to events to shape our national destiny.

Ever since the rebellion broke out, this Society has been thoroughly in earnest in sustaining the government, and all those measures of emancipation which President Lincoln and Congress have deemed it necessary to adopt to suppress the rebellion, and to give unity and stability to republican ideas, institutions and interests from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Lakes to the Gulf.

The Managers of the SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY, therefore, feel that they may properly call upon all loyal men and women, as well as upon all who reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy that "man can hold property in man," in every part of the land, to contribute liberally to its funds on this occasion, and, as far as practicable, to be present at its commemoration at the time and place designated. Where personal attendance is impracticable or inconvenient, donations may be sent to either of the undersigned, or to WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, Esq., 8 Railroad Exchange, Boston, Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society. These will be gratefully received, duly acknowledged, and faithfully expended.

Mary May,	Sarah H. Southwick,
Lydia D. Parker,	Caroline E. Putnam,
Louisa Loring,	Mary Willey,
Henrietta Sargent,	Abby H. Stephenson,
Sarah Russell May,	Sarah J. Nowell,
Helen E. Garrison,	Elizabeth von Arnim,
Anna Shaw Greene,	Eliza Apthorp,
Sarah Blake Shaw,	Sarah Cowing,
Caroline C. Thayer,	Abby Kelley Foster,
Mattie Griffith,	Mary E. Stearns,
Mary Jackson,	Mary Elizabeth Sargent,
Evelina A. Smith,	Sarah C. Atkinson,
Caroline M. Severance,	Abby Francis,
Elizabeth Gay,	Georgiana Otis,
Ann Rebecca Bramhall,	Katherine Earle Farnum.

CRITICISM AND AGITATION.

IT hath ever been the misfortune of the Abolitionists to fail of giving a general satisfaction by what they say or do. As far as they are concerned, this is of the less consequence inasmuch as they have not laid themselves out to please the world in general, or the politicians in particular. Their business has been from the beginning, first, Agitation, secondly, Criticism. Now, people who are profiting by abuses, or doing pretty well in spite of them, do not fancy hearing them abused, or their dainty devices for holding on to them, under fair pretences, ridiculed and exposed. Even the best disposed of those nearest to the Abolitionists are often annoyed by the rigor with which they apply the line and the plummet to the public conduct of public men, and to the history which they are making. And, especially, when they do this to the words and actions of men who are saying and doing things infinitely nearer to their own scheme of right than had seemed within the bounds of probability a short time before. And Agitation is always a nuisance to quiet and comfortable folks, disturbing them in their easy chairs by the fireside, and well-cushioned pews in church. "They had as lief see a rattlesnake or a mad dog come into their town as an Abolition lecturer!" they used to say, and we dare say do still. And not without reason, for those pestilent fellows have succeeded in turning their political and ecclesiastical world upside down. Their enemies, as well as their friends, being witnesses, it is they that have brought about this convulsion which now shakes the nation. And though some of their friends, as well as all their enemies, think that it is now time to stay their Agitations and their Criticisms, it seems to them that the one and the other are quite as much needed now as ever. Much more so, indeed. The Adept does not cease feeding the flame just at the moment of projection, nor neglect to watch the concoction of his ingredients, just as the Philosopher's Stone, or rather the Elixir of Life, seems on the point of rewarding his toil and his patient waiting.

The strictures of Mr. Wendell Phillips on the action of the President and the Generals have been grievous to the souls of many well in sympathy with him. From his first address since the war broke out to that last week in the Cooper Institute, he has been censured, in anger or in sorrow, for the plainness of his speech and the directness with which he treated of men and measures. The same blame has been cast upon him and all other Abolitionists from the beginning, and is as unphilosophical and irrational now as then. As their fidelity to their voiceless clients, the slaves, has been blessed to the bringing about of the present condition of things, so it has been, and will continue to be, felt in the moulding and directing of that state of affairs [illegible] the final shape of moral and political excellence. We have reason to know that the influence of the words of Mr. Phillips, of Mr. Garrison, and other anti-slavery men of the most unquestionable sincerity and extremity of view, and of the anti-slavery press, has been felt directly as well as indirectly in the improved and improving direction our public affairs have taken and are taking. Abolitionism proper is now a Power on Earth, in a very different sense from that in which intelligent observers, slaveholders especially, always saw that it was. It is looked upon as the source from which has flowed that new current of opinion which is so fast changing the face of our affairs, and it is looked to with curiosity, sometimes mixed with apprehension, to see what fresh streams of pungent purification may yet issue forth from it. Such is surely not the time to seal it up. We will not enter upon the subject of Mr. Phillips's late speech, as there is not one of our readers that will not read and pass upon it for himself. Let us take the single point, perhaps more found fault with than any other part of it, the attention he so powerfully provokes to the dangers lurking in the Supreme Court-room. We believe the Abolitionists were the first to draw attention to this peril, and it is more important now than ever that public attention should be kept fastened upon it, since the President has invited, as it were, the interposition of that Court and tacitly pronounced implicit obedience to its decree touching the work he has done.

And this the rather that, with but few exceptions, the press which supports the Administration sees no objection to this suggestion and no danger likely to come from it. One of these, the New York *Times*, with an assurance which would be laughable if this could be a laughing matter in any aspect, asks, in substance, "whether the Supreme Court, which is entrusted with the interests of white men, cannot also be entrusted with those of negroes!" And this in the face of the Dred Scott decision, a clear majority of the judges making which are now upon the bench! Of the nine Judges composing the Supreme Court, five—Chief-Justice Taney, and Justices Wayne, Catron, Nelson and Grier—concurred in that infamous decision. Of the other four, Judge Clifford will strangely contradict all his public and professional life if he should deviate into any opinion hostile to slavery; and one or two, at least, of the three Judges appointed by Mr. Lincoln have been regarded as of dubious trustworthiness in any question involving slavery, by Republicans best acquainted with their history. The great danger at the present point of our affairs lies in over-confidence in the certainty of an immediate or speedy abolition of slavery. There is too much disposition to look upon the work as done. In a sense it is done. Slavery has received its death-wound, as is popularly said, but it has strength and vitality enough to linger long before it actually gives up the ghost. With all the slaves that have been freed by our armies and that have escaped from the Border States, there are at this moment more within the domain of Jefferson Davis than there were in all the States in 1850. The spirit of mastership is as strong and rampant there as ever it was, and it is gathering its forces together for a last desperate stand. Supposing this effort to be vain, and that submission to the national authority follows. The way is open under the President's plan to the vast majority of the slave-owners to keep possession of their lands, even supposing the Supreme Court leave the Confiscation act untouched. And as to their slaves, should a case be made up to test the constitutionality of the Emancipation proclamation, what reason have we to suppose that the Dred Scott Judges have changed their minds as to the *animus* of the Constitution? It by no means follows that they will confirm the popular decision as to the war powers, and it is they and not Congressional or platform speakers or political editors that will speak with authority. And should the Court pronounce that the proclamation is of no binding effect, THE NATION, WITH THE PRESIDENT AT ITS HEAD, WILL SUBMIT TO IT, AND THE SETTLEMENT WILL BE MADE ON THAT BASIS! It is idle to expect any other result. The North will need a great deal more converting than it has had, to continue the war for the abolition of slavery, if it can have the Union again with it.

We think, then, that no criticism can be too sharp, no censure too severe, on any proposition or suggestion, which opens the way to such possibilities. Our chief hope still, as from the beginning, lies rather in the desperation of the South than in the sound principles of the North. If the war lasts long enough, the North may—nay, must—go on in the process of its conversion, and see that there is no hope for its prosperity, liberty or greatness, excepting in the liberation and elevation of the negro. And it is that these wholesome teachings of the war may be reenforced by sound political and moral doctrine that a wise and judicious Agitation should not be neglected. Neither the President nor Congress pretend to lead the people. They are driven by the people, and by the events of the war, which have been too strong for them. Both need the support of public sentiment at home, and that they may have its support, it must be created, and they must know what it is. This is the purpose of the Anti-Slavery meetings now holding under the auspices of the American Society. Their object is to concentrate the Anti-Slavery opinion of the country upon the necessity of Congress taking measures at once for the abolition of slavery everywhere, as an act of Self-preservation. This can be done, the nation committed legislatively to emancipation, and its practical carrying out in the Border States and the rebel territory in our possession, or to become so, may put the righteous settlement of the question beyond a peradventure. Here is a work in which every one who feels the importance of such a settlement can coöperate. They can help to swell the meetings, though we believe they are now as numerous as places can be found to hold them, and they can multiply the petitions, intimating to their representatives what they hold to be their duty. Public opinion is but the sum of individual opinions. No one, man or woman, is too insignificant not to be an appreciable drop in this mighty ocean. Congress and the President wish for and need all the support they can receive from their constituents. Let none be withheld that the greatest or the least can afford. We can at least deserve success, if we fail of it.

PERSONAL.

Our readers will be disappointed in not finding in our columns this week Mr. Phillips's lecture, lately delivered in this city. Mr. Phillips was not able to furnish us the copy in time for this issue, but we expect to print it next week without fail.

C. Edwards Lester, a Clerk in the War Department, who has been confined at Harper's Ferry since September last upon the charge of being a rebel spy, is about to be released, there being no evidence sufficient to support the charge.

Neal Dow, writing from Libby Prison, Richmond, Dec. 7, says: "I am very well and in excellent spirits. Remember me kindly to all my temperance friends. I am more earnest in the good cause than ever, if possible, and when the war is over, which will not be far off, I shall go to work as earnestly as ever."

We had news on Monday that Chief-Justice Taney was lying at the point of death at his residence in Washington. On Monday night he was said to be a little better, but not out of danger. He is suffering from excessive catarrh, and being weak from old age, can hardly be expected to recover.

Col. Alexander Cummings, formerly the publisher of the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* and more recently of the New York *World* (before it sold itself to the Copperhead Democracy), is about to visit Arkansas with a commission from the War Department to raise colored troops in that State.

Mr. Weiss's Life and Letters of Theodore Parker is in two illustrated volumes, giving views of his home, his haunts, his library and Music Hall. The publication of the work is delayed, we understand, by the great call for it in advance; the first edition would not meet urgent orders, and was detained until it could be reënforced by a second. One New York library found fifty copies too few for the wants of eager readers.

The Liberator of last week says:—"In a private note, dated Dec. 4th, George Thompson says—'In a month from the present time, I hope to be on my way to Boston'—so that it is possible that he may arrive in season for the Anti-Slavery Festival, and the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, to be held in this city the last week in January."

Our friend Wm. Henry Burr, Stenographer for some time past to Part II. of the Superior Court in this city, resigned his place rather than serve under the infamous McCunn. In a note to Chief-Justice Bosworth he says: "I cannot, consistently with self-respect and loyalty to my country, accept the humiliating position of serving under a man so notoriously disloyal and so universally detested as John H. McCunn." Every loyal man will honor Mr. Burr for this act.

Mr. Peter Sinclair, whose visit to this country as a Temperance lecturer will be remembered by many of our readers, is coming here again. He has lately been employed as a lecturer of the London Union and Emancipation Society, and the Executive Committee lately took occasion from his resignation to present to him an address, testifying their unanimous appreciation of his valuable labors and their interest in his future welfare.

We invite the attention of the reader to two very striking articles on the first page, from the Newburyport (Mass.) *Herald*. The shorter one of the two has appeared in our columns before, but we print it again that it may stand in juxtaposition with the other. The contrast between Garrison and Calhoun is a remarkable tribute to the latter from one of the most hunkerish of all the hunker newspapers in the United States Does not the world move?

The President, through Senator Sherman of Ohio, has sent to the Sanitary Commission Fair at Cincinnati, to be exhibited and sold, the original draft of his Amnesty Proclamation. Very well; now let him issue one more Proclamation, giving liberty to every slave in the land, "as an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity," and send the original to the great Fair to be held in this city on the 22d of February. It would sell for a sum three times as large as that obtained by the sale of the two previous ones, besides sending his name down to posterity as Lincoln the Emancipator!

The Philapelphia *Daily News* of Dec. 21 says: "We learn from private sources that it is in contemplation to hold an informal meeting of the Union members of Congress in a few days, with the purpose to consider a resolution asking the President of the United States to request the resignation of Mr. Postmaster Blair. The position assumed by Mr. B. in his Rockville speech, and the attitude assumed generally towards the free State movements now going on, has rendered him extremely obnoxious to a very considerable number of Congressmen who support the Administration, and it is thought a resolution such as we have indicated will be passed by the caucus."

"Dr. Bellows," says the New York correspondent of the Springfield *Republican*, "is not yet out of trouble [induced by his foolish Thanksgiving sermon]. At a certain gathering of artists and literateurs, last week, three prominent gentlemen of his Church expressed their mortification at his course, declared they should never sit in their pews again, and offered them for sale to the highest bidder. The man who veers about with every current, in these days of strong tides and tremendous issues, is hardly forgiven." We hear that the Doctor, who at one time determined to publish his sermon, and had actually gone so far as to correct the proofs of the same, finally came to the wise conclusion to suppress it.

Says the Boston correspondent of the Springfield *Republican*: "Octavius B. Frothingham lectured before the Fraternity Tuesday evening, Dec. 22d. His lecture *was* a lecture, in form and substance, and not a stump speech, as most of the pretended lectures now are. It was very charming. Stability and Instability may be considered its title. He satirized American instability, or rather described it very graphically, contrasting it with English and Parisian traits. Some single portraitures and pictures were pleasant enough. Abraham Lincoln, the great, loose, muscular, open collared, shirt-sleeved man who tries to conduct the overwhelming stream of American nationality on to the slaveholding rebellion, and generally succeeds so well, but sometimes does not avoid sprinkling the bystanders—Abraham was drawn to the life. Paris and New York were antithetically contrasted, and a very vivid picture of the New York riots, and their suppression, and the prompt reoccupation of the city by the loyal and peaceable citizens, came in to protract the delights of this most charming performance. Stability had its due credit; for half an hour, under Mr. Frothingham's brilliant account of its good points, I began to regret that I was not a conservative; but by and by radicalism got its proper credit. Liberty is the cure for the perils of liberty, said the speaker; when we fail, it is because we are not free and radical enough. I missed the close of the lecture, the stability of Home carrying it, as usual, over the instability of the lecture and the street, but I was very reluctant to leave."

LETTER FROM MRS. GAGE.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 10, 1863.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SINCE my last, I have travelled over so much space, seen so many people, had so much good cheer, such a refreshing of soul, that I am hardly able to look back so far, or remember when or where it was I sent you greeting. Who wishes to look behind that great meeting at Philadelphia, at least for a week afterward? Surely, no meeting of the true and faithful in any time or country could more truly have said, "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof," than those assembled in the city of Brotherly Love, to celebrate the Thirtieth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. It was a feast of fat things, of wine on the lees, that will long be remembered. But you saw, and heard, and felt, and you have told the tale, and I must speed on to new scenes and interests which are every day coming before me.

On Saturday last, the 5th inst., I visited that modern Arcadia of New Jersey, called Vineland, where a certain Mr. Landis has attempted to build up a sensible city, from the stand-point of doing unto others as he would have others do unto him, laying out a town a mile square, dividing it off by streets an hundred feet wide, and selling every lot at a reasonable rate, to actual settlers, who must pledge themselves to clear a portion of the land of the forest, set or leave shade trees in front, and take possession within a specified time, six months or a year. Outside of this roomy town, and surrounding it, making the whole some ten miles square, there is the same systematic arrangement; the lots enlarged to five, ten, and twenty acres, increasing in size for agricultural purposes, as they widen out towards the rim.

Vineland is located on a level, covered with small pines and oaks. The soil does not seem rich, nor do the woods give an idea of great strength and fertility. But all agree to its wonderful adaptation to small fruits and vegetables; and being but thirty-three miles from Philadelphia, and a railroad running through its very centre, the cheapness of the land, ranging frome one hundred dollars for city lots down to twenty an acre for out-lots, with the rapidly-growing facilities of a city, make it a very tempting spot for seekers after a home. In two years, the wilderness has been made to assume quite the appearance of a well-settled village and neighborhood, numbering already two thousand people; not, as some have represented, of one-side people, trying a new experiment of socialism, but of people of every shade of religious belief, and no belief at all; in fact, just such people as you would naturally find in any place, answering to such an invitation from a landholder, ready to deal with them fairly and honestly, offering land for churches, building for them at the onset a school-house (which is already outgrown), and encouraging [illegible], science, art, and trade. One church (I think Episcopalian) has been erected. The Presbyterians have the foundation of a large building laid. The Liberals are talking of putting up a hall large enough for the accommodation of lecturers, and the people as a whole seem about as busy and happy, and as sure they have cast their lines in pleasant places, as any I have found for many a year.

A notice for my meeting to talk about the Freedmen of the Sea Islands, given in the morning, brought together in the evening more people than could have been seated in three such school-houses, and many staid at home because they knew no seats could be had. But all that could find standing-room were willing to stand to hear, as long as I was willing to stand to speak; and I can say of the new curiosity of Vineland that it seems to be taking its position from the start on an Anti-Slavery basis; and the colored man can buy his lot and improve it on the same terms as his neighbor the white man. I wish Mr. Landis all the success he deserves, and I think a man who can spare so much land for streets and avenues, parks, churches, and other public buildings, who exacts of his customers such good things to begin with as shade-trees in front of every lot, and fills his town and country with actual settlers, deserves a goodly degree of what the world calls success. Oh! cries one, don't you see he is making a fortune out of it! Why not? If he makes his fortune by doing a good thing, and starting a thousand families in the way of prosperity, has he not a right so to make it?

I did not mean to write so long an account of Vineland, but the whole was so novel and so new, so much like a fairy tale, that I could not well stay my pen. Philadelphia seems full to overflowing with amusements and excitements for the week. Among the lecturers, Frederick Douglass and John B. Gough take precedence, in the minds of the thoughtful. Both were decidedly successful. Mr. Bacon appeared on the platform at Douglass's lecture with his two little white girls from Louisiania, both slaves, his branded man and black boy, creating great excitement, and sold in the audience seventy-five dollars worth of the photographs of these persons; as Sojourner Truth said, creating out of their shadow a fund to educate the substance. I was not present; for I had to talk of slavery to a small audience that same evening in Norristown, where the old spirit of pro-slavery, it seems, yet dwells. One of the ministers, in reading the notice of the lecture, said he read because so requested, but insinuated, if all these things had to be attended to, he might as well close his church. Well, perhaps he might as well, if God's humble poor, in these days of extreme need, have no part or lot therein. I have just heard that Mr. Bacon and his freed children have been dismissed from the St. Lawrence Hotel, Philadelphia, on account of their having *once been slaves*. No time for us to lay off our armor and say our work is done.

I must not forget to mention an afternoon I spent at the Aid Rooms with the earnest workers at the Friends' meeting-house, Race street. It was a cheering sight to see those fifty women, with busy fingers, making good substantial garments for the sufferers of the Mississippi valley. God bless them.

NEWTOWN, Dec. 12.

Yesterday I had a good audience, despite the storm, at Newtown Hall, among the staunch friends of the Freedmen and the slave, in Bucks County. In the evening, a party of ladies gathered in the cheerful parlors of friend John Holcolm, spent the social hour with busy tongues talking of the freedmen and their needs, and busier fingers making clothes to supply them.

Friends Mahlon Linton and wife, at whose house I write, are moving the waters of charity in behalf of the suffering. Is not this a grand day? The redeemed slave takes his place in our Army as a man, to fight the battles of freedom side by side with the white man, and in the homes and circles of charity, the wife and children are remembered with the sick and wounded soldier—neither duty neglected, wealth to answer the needs, and room in our hearts for all.

The nation has stood astounded at its own resources and power, and we shall stand still more astounded at the immensity of the charities garnered up in the hearts of its people.

Yours, truly,
FRANCES D. GAGE.

THE "CONTRABANDS" AT NORFOLK.

NORFOLK, Va., Dec. 18, 1863.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

IF a person ever wearies of the monotony of life at home in the North, no better remedy can be prescribed than to make a tour through some benighted region of the South. An entire change of scene will be presented, and enough food given to the mind to employ every faculty of observation and reflection. The sensation is that of the living bound with the dead, as we realize the sickening fact that with all the culture and refinement, the philanthropy and Christianity which are the boast and pride of the North, it has been possible to include in the same body politic such gross ignorance and beastly degradation as are now pouring forth their fruits on the surface of society in this and other cities of the Old Dominion.

It is quite a singular coincidence, that without any premeditation on her part, Annie Brown, the daughter of John Brown, should by chance find this soil the first scene of her labors in trying to elevate the race for whom her father sacrificed his life. Though young, she displays many traits of his character, and bids fair to realize the expectations of her numerous friends in this vicinity, who extend to her a most cordial welcome as her father's daughter. Well may Virginia adopt her for her own.

Leaving the neat and orderly city of Philadelphia, especially after hearing such soul-stirring speeches as were made at the anniversary of the third Decade, it seemed like passing the confines of civilization as we crossed the border into slave regions. But with all their demoralization there is a great deal to interest. The jail-yard or slave-pen, formerly a place of terror to the colored population, is now used as a house of refuge for the groups of slaves escorted there every few days by our troops as they are rescued from their masters, and is a place of intense interest. The sight of so many "chattels," in all the repulsive features which that term indicates, almost overpowers you as you reflect that they are human beings like yourself, entitled to the same rights, and endowed with the same attributes, imposing upon us so much the greater responsibility for their conduct in the new station to which they have risen for our own instrumentality as a nation in reducing them to this state of degradation. Then we are surprised at their docility and aptness to learn when emerging from such barbarism, at the absence of vindictive feelings, and the cheerfulness which animates them all, as if they were willing to forget the past and press on to the future which is before them.

It is astonishing with what tact Sarah Chase, one of our Worcester friends, manages this motley group. She has a wonderful faculty to control and inspirit them, to get at their inner natures, and encourage at the same time that she disciplines them. It is no easy task to train a hundred children fresh from such influences, constantly changing, as the older ones are removed to other schools to make room for new arrivals.

The indefatigable labors of her sister and herself as pioneers in this cause are deserving of great praise. It is surprising that so many women are ready to come and bear with the many inconveniences they must get along with here, but none are ever heard to say that they wish to return. Doubtless, beside the philanthropy of the object, they are glad to exchange the inactive lives many of them lead at home for something more in accordance with the spirit of the times. Certainly it is of as much importance to the nation that this mass of human beings, who are so soon to be incorporated into society, should be enlightened, as that the rebellion should be put down.

From the jail-yard the refugees are removed to what is called the pesthouse, until places can be procured for them.

newly-arrived are quartered in "Hall's jail"—alias, the old slave-pen (minus its whipping-post and its old proprietor)—until other places can be found in the city, or houses erected on some of the confiscated farms in the country.

Yesterday, as usual, Mr. W. visited the jail, and, after asking the new comers to show him, by raising the right hand, how many were from North Carolina, and how many were from Virginia, and, on thus ascertaining there were fifty from the former State, and thirty from the latter, he finally said: "Now, you who are homesick in this old slave-pen, and you who were brought away from home against your will, and would like to go back to master and missis, to take care of you, hold up your right hand." At this request, there was a universal shrinking, and a suppressed murmur, as though some of them were really expected to vote themselves back into bondage again. But as they caught in Mr. W.'s looks the meaning of the appeal, they dropped their chins, rolled their eyes toward each other, and gave a most expressive demonstration against the position, ante bellum.

One man among them volunteered as a reason for his desire not to return, that he had had a hundred lashes laid upon his bare back, with a rawhide, and then a strong beef brine applied to augment his agonies. The cause, he said, was his attempt to run away in order to escape previous cruelties which he was enduring, while doing his utmost to please his master.

They were then requested, as many as were willing to fight for their liberty, to become soldiers for the Union, to put down the rebels, to hold up the hand. In an instant, up went the hands of all the men and many of the larger boys, and some of the women, as if by an involuntary, uncontrollable impulse.

But I cannot say the half that the occasion suggests, or that I was requested to report to you. Last evening, we had some five of them at our residence. One of the women (to whom some of our household applied the name of Jenny Lind) had certainly remarkable musical powers. Among the sacred songs, was one beginning,

"Father, I stretch my hands to Thee;
No other help I know;
If Thou withdraw Thyself from me,
Ah, whither shall I go?"

The effect upon my feelings was to shame me into the dust, my opportunities had placed me no farther in advance of these poor creatures, who, so long and so deeply crushed, had risen to a point so far above that of thousands who had enjoyed all the privileges of a life-long freedom. Farewell. I have given you but a specimen brick of this building. L. A. W.

KENTUCKY AND THE EMANCIPATION PETITION.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I send you the enclosed letter from three women of Kentucky, who have sent us a good list of signatures to our petition. Will you please publish it, that the women of the North may see something of the work of education to be done in slave terrritory.

S. B. Anthony, Sec'y.

Germantown, Ky., Nov. 30th, 1863.

To Susan B. Anthony *and friends, of the Loyal League:*

At the eleventh hour I respond to your call for names, but the mere pittance I send calls the blush of shame to my cheek for the ignorance and backwardness of my State. But what I have gathered together I send, little though it be.

My heart is with you in this great struggle, and also the hearts of many others; but you, friends in New York, cannot realize the ignorance and fear exhibited by many on the presentation of the pledge for their names.

You speak of the clergyman of our church, and our school teachers. Alas! Our little church built on free principles stands with closed doors, our pastor and his family are exiles from the State, pining for their home and unfinished labors; not allowed to come and in peace lay their dead in the family burial ground.

Our school, once in the hands of the friends of freedom, and flourishing, has passed into the grasp of the Slave Power; our teacher mobbed and driven out, and many friends gone to the free States, where they may live in peace and be protected in their religious views. We still remain, not knowing security of property or person, hoping for years, seemingly against hope, for brighter days; thinking at last we see the dawn breaking upon us from the battle's smoke, feeling our nation baptized by fire, but feeling it but as the just vengeance of a just God.

It is for our interest, truly, as well as that of the bound black men, that this undertaking should succeed; that our petition be granted; and wishing and praying for such a result, we send our mite. Yours,

Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton,
Mrs. Rebecca Hanson,
Mrs. Mary Vermillion.

A CARD.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I observed a notice in The Standard, a few weeks back, from my friend Redpath, desiring to know my whereabouts, saying that he had a little money in his hands for me, and had failed to reach me by letter, etc. This may inform him that I am still in this world of cares and conflicts, at the old home at Springdale, Iowa, and that it feels good, for a poor woman like me, to get money at any time. I received his letter in due time and got a banker to make me out a draught according to *his request*, payable to me, dated Nov. 6th, and sent it in a letter to him, stating why it was not attended to sooner. Not hearing from him since, I fear *I have failed to reach him* by letter, and thought I would try his mode of receiving information.

The banker said the better way would have been for him to send me a check.

Respectfully, Ann L. Ralby.

12th mo., 12th, 1863.

THE NEGRO AT THE NEW ENGLAND DINNER.

If the Negro did not actually dine with the New England Society of this city on Forefathers' Day, he was at least a subject of thought and discourse on that occasion. Among the regular toasts was one to "Our Corps d'Afrique," to which John P. Hale responded in substance as follows:

The toast having been received with all the honors, Hon. John P. Hale, in responding to it, commenced by stating that it had been related of a son of Galileo that he had been a damnable heretic in holding that the world moved and not the sun; he replied that it moved notwithstanding (laughter). If any one now doubted that the world moved, he should come to their festive gathering, and he would discover his error. For the first time in their history the gentlemen of the New England Society—all respectable men—had noticed in their list of toasts the race which had been excluded by the decision of a high court from citizenship. By their sentiment they had been guilty of suggesting to the men of that race that they should strike for liberty (applause), and it was then fitting that they should do so. New England had in her early history been averse to the slave trade. Subsequently they maintained that the South might keep what they had, but not obtain others. At length, in the order of Providence, events had transpired which made it necessary for the perpetuity of the nation, that slavery should go totally down (applause). Did not the world move then? In the struggle against slavery, he regretted that the Church, which should be leading every good work, had to be led. In the Episcopal Church, which was conservative, a Bishop of Pennsylvania found it necessary to answer another Bishop who undertook to defend human bondage. (A Voice—Bishops.) Was it not strange that when the question involved the life or death of the nation, its perpetuity and dignity or its everlasting shame, that there should be two parties in the country? It would be well to have peace, and he would be ready to make honorable sacrifices to obtain it; but there were worse calamities than war (applause). They wanted a peace such as two men might make with each other without either being ashamed of the agreement they had effected. They wanted a peace which would result in the glory of their country and its future safety and happiness (applause.) They were called on by the Providence of God to decide at that time whether man was able to govern himself. The struggle was to be decided on this continent. Was there any man who would shrink from the dangers and responsibilities of the hour in which he lived? Who would not thank God that he was appointed to live in a time when he could take an active part in the conflict which would forever settle the question? (Applause.) He would not trespass on their time further. (Voices—"Go on.") No, he could not forget that he was then speaking for the black man, and as it was the first time they had honored him, he would not take up too much of their time in his behalf (applause).

Photographs—large size—of the following persons for sale at this office, price 75 cents:

THEODORE D. WELD,
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,
OLIVER JOHNSON,
THEODORE TILTON.

The likenesses are pronounced excellent—that of Mr. Weld especially.

Our Washington Correspondence.

Washington, Dec. 28, 1863.

I am sure that the Abolitionists can enjoy the holidays! How much more happy are they than the holidays of one year ago! We had the Proclamation, certainly, but it seemed to come grudgingly, and the country did not seem to like it. I think the President is excusable for thinking one year ago that the people were opposed to emancipation. The elections seemed to show it, and if, under such circumstances, he was a little gloomy and inclined to doubt the expediency of his Proclamation, he certainly can be pardoned. *These* are happier days. The President no longer doubts the wisdom of his policy, initiated with so much trembling one year ago last September, and in a short time it will have become so firmly established that not even a decision of the Supreme Court can revive the decaying institution. In his general policy, Mr. Lincoln is all right, and it is perfectly safe to trust him for the future, so far as general results are concerned. But when it comes to details—to the means which conduce to the end, it is exceedingly doubtful whether they will be satisfactory. The President kept Gen. Schofield in Missouri for a long time after the sentiment of the country was against his continuance there; he did not favor the literal execution of the Enrollment act in the border slave States, causing the slaves to be enrolled; and I might go on giving many other illustrations of his conservatism in small matters. But he always comes out right in the end, and it is needless to stop to inquire whether it is because the people compel him to stand firmly by his principles, or whether it is of his own motion that he does so. It is enough that he invariably satisfies even the Radicals when it comes to the hour of trial.

The prospect for the year 1864 is a pleasant one. With success in the attempt to raise volunteers this Winter, the Spring campaign may be made decisive. The President seems to be determined that, so far as in him lies, slavery shall have no further life in the rebel States. He has seen the folly of an attempt at gradualism in Maryland. The people are impatient, that is the people who are loyal, and desire that slavery shall come to a speedy end. Even the Gradual Emancipationists of Maryland are now ready to join hands with Winter Davis and the Immediate Emancipationists.

I see the question often asked, especially by people at a distance, in letters and the newspapers—Is the Supreme Court, as at present constituted, pro-slavery; and is it probable that it would pronounce against the constitutionality of the Proclamation of Emancipation? The answer to the first part of the question is easy—the Court is bitterly pro-slavery, and I might almost say that it is anti-war. It is not so safe to say what the decision of the Court might be upon the Proclamation, if properly brought before it, but my own opinion was long ago made up on this point—the Court would unquestionably pronounce the Emancipation Proclamation unconstitutional, and therefore null and void. But the Court will not have an opportunity to pronounce upon this question yet, and perhaps not till the institution of slavery is destroyed. There is a chance, too, of creating more Judges, and Taney may resign or be taken away before this great question is brought before the Court. The principal hope of anti slavery men, however, is, that the Proclamation, by its own might, will destroy slavery, and that no after-decision of the Supreme Court will give new life to the institution.

I confess that I am very much surprised (to change the subject) at one thing, and that is this: to see Abolitionists doubting the reliability of Mr. Chase's anti-slavery principles. I have watched both Mr. Chase and Mr. Lincoln since they came to Washington, and though there have been many occasions when one was at a loss what to believe respecting the views and principles of Mr. Lincoln, there never has been one moment when a fair man could indulge a doubt in reference to the position of Mr. Chase. There is no man connected with the government who possesses a tithe of his firmness and radicalism on the slavery question. Now this may or may not render him a fit candidate for the Presidency. That question has nothing whatever to do with the fact called in question—that he is the most reliable anti-slavery man in the Cabinet. That fact might render his nomination very impolitic, or it might, under favorable circumstances, render him the most suitable man who could be selected as a standard-bearer through the Presidential campaign. But it seems to me an unheard-of thing, that an Abolitionist should for one moment doubt the sincere devotion of Mr. Chase to the cause of anti-slavery. If he cannot be trusted, pray be kind enough to tell us who can be. Can Mr. Blair? Can Mr. Bates? Will Mr. Seward answer any better? The simple truth is, that *the only radical anti slavery man connected with the Administration is Salmon P. Chase.* Mr. Lincoln makes no pretence that he is a Radical upon this question. Yet some of the greatest and noblest of the Abolitionists express confidence in Mr. Lincoln, and want of it in Mr. Chase upon this subject of slavery! Thank Heaven! both Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Chase can be trusted upon this great question; if it were otherwise, our situation would be pitiable indeed.

We are in the midst of the holidays in Washington, and of course there is no Congressional news to discuss. The town is quiet, and the hotels are not so closely packed as usual. There is very little doing here out of the usual course, everybody seeming to wait for Congress to begin its Winter's work. The Republicans have everything their own way, if they confine themselves to pushing on the war and making a bold fight against slavery. They cannot fail unless they attempt to justify fraud and contract-jobbery, and this they have no disposition to do. So long as they stick to their principles they will be triumphant in this Congress. The prospect before them is pleasant as one could wish, and nothing but the most wretched management can throw them at any time into a minority. Fernando Wood and his half-dozen followers are a very lonesome set in the House. Odell, Ganson, Kernan, and the other New York Democrats, seem to be entirely ashamed of Fernando, and the other day Fernando himself seemed to be ashamed of his principles and followers, for he refused to vote in favor of a resolution, introduced by a Copperhead, asking that a distinction be made between white and black soldiers. It was really as good as a play to see this vote taken in the House. Wood votes among the last, and such men as Cox, and other Democrats who assert that they are not advocates of a disgraceful peace, put themselves boldly on record against the colored soldiers. Odell, Ganson, and one or two other New York Democrats voted with the Republicans. When the name of Fernando Wood was called, imagine if you can the consternation of Cox and Company to hear the great Copperhead voting with the Republicans! There sat the ex-Mayor, upright as a parson, cool as a judge, looking neither to the right or left, but evidently enjoying keenly the alarm and confusion of his political associates. The explanation of the vote is this: Fernando is a Copperhead, but he despises the dirty little tricks and prejudices of Cox. "If you will fight," says Fernando, "why, employ negroes; and if you do employ negroes to do your fighting, why, pay them as well as you do any other men! I abhor the meanness of trying to cheat a negro out of three dollars a month!" This is his position, I understand, and it is honorable to him, if he has been guilty of many dishonorable acts in the past. The open and bold opponent of the war is a better man than the sneaking negro-hater, who pretends to love the Union, yet secretly desires the enemy to triumph. Fernando Wood is preferable any day to Cox. Neither has the power in the House to work serious mischief. Avon.

Sojourner Truth.—Some of the good people of Battle Creek, Mich., a few weeks since, made a contribution of articles of food, clothing, etc., for the benefit of the First Michigan Regiment of Colored Soldiers at Fort Ward, and appointed that dear old saint, Sojourner Truth, to distribute them. Of her reception, and the manner in which she performed her duty, the Detriot *Advertiser and Tribune* gives this account:

"The colored soldiers at Camp Ward had a regular jubilee last Friday. About eleven o'clock a carriage drove up before Col. Bennett's quarters laden with boxes and packages containing all manner of delicacies for 'the boys,' sent from Battle Creek. Sojourner Truth, who carries not only a tongue of fire but a heart of love, was the bearer of these offerings. The Colonel ordered the regiment into line 'in their best' for the presentation, which was made by Sojourner, accompanied by a speech glowing with patriotism, exhortation, and good wishes, which was responded to by rounds of enthusiastic cheers. At the close of the ceremony Sojourner spent an hour or two among the soldiers in motherly conversation, and assisting in opening the boxes and distributing their contents, which the recipients disposed of with hearty good will.

"Sunday afternoon, according to appointment, Sojourner went up to the camp to deliver another address to the soldiers, but so large a crowd of white citizens were gathered to hear, that her inspirations were devoted almost exclusively to their ears, with a promise of a future discourse for the soldiers. At the close of the lecture, a handsome collection was volunteered for the benefit of the speaker."

We have a letter from Sojourner, dated at Detroit, Dec. 11, from which we copy a few words: "My health is very good. I have held meetings here, and am to have more. A good many people come to see me, and I have good talks with them. I mean to live till I am a hundred years old, if it pleases God, and see my people all free. My mind is 'first rate.' Maybe I will see you in New York city yet."

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND."

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society congratulate its members and friends that, through the madness, rebellion, and secession of the South, avowedly in behalf of its Heaven-accursed and world-abhorred slave system—involving the country in a civil war of the hugest proportions and the most sanguinary character, which still continues its desolating work—the constitutional powers of the Federal government are now ample to decree the immediate and total abolition of slavery. They believe that, as a measure of national peace and unity, of humanity and justice, such a decree should be passed by the ensuing Congress at as early a period in the session as practicable—thus not only sustaining the Emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln of January 1st, 1863, but also effectually disposing of that remnant of the slave institution which was exempted by the proclamation aforesaid, in such a manner as may seem most equitable and expedient by Congress.

The warrant for this procedure is to be found in the still greatly imperilled state of the republic, and in the legitimate functions of the government that may be exercised in such an alarming crisis. By common law, an individual has the right of self-defence by all means recognized by that law. In view of international law, a nation is an individual, and has the right of self-defence by all means recognized by that law; one of those means being the destruction of any dynasty or institution that imperils national life. Slavery has struck at the life of the nation, and declared its own existence incompatible with that of the nation. Hence the nation, acting through its official organs, has the right to abolish slavery throughout its dominions; and past events demonstrate alike the necessity and duty of exercising this right without delay and without compromise.

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, therefore, deeply impressed with the importance of a general coöperation of the friends of impartial liberty at this time, in order to influence and secure the action of Congress in the manner described, hereby announce, that they have resolved to put forthwith into the lecturing field as many agents as the funds of the Society will warrant, whose sole work shall be to enlighten the public mind on this subject, stimulate to a wide-spread movement in favor of universal emancipation, and thus make the recurrence of another Slaveholders' Rebellion an impossible event.

To sustain and increase the number of these agents, the Committee solicit the generous contribution and donations of all who desire to see the speedy suppression of the war, and in the fullest sense "Liberty and Union" made "one and inseparable."

In furtherance of this patriotic and Christian object the "Woman's Loyal National League" at New York has taken the field, in advance, to procure to a petition to the next Congress, for the total abolition of slavery, A MILLION OF SIGNATURES on the part of the loyal women of the republic. It deserves all possible encouragement and success, and we shall extend to it the heartiest coöperation. But let the loyal men be equally zealous and resolved to be as potentially heard in the same manner, by the same body. Let such a petition be sent to Congress from every city, town, village and hamlet in all the loyal States. No time is to be lost. "*One last, best effort now!*"

The Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society is William I. Bowditch, Esq., 8 Railroad Exchange, Boston, Mass. Donations may also be sent to Oliver Johnson, Esq., Anti-Slavery Office, 48 Beekman street, New York, and to J. Miller McKim, Anti-Slavery Office, 106 North Tenth street, Philadelphia, Pa.

☞ Editors of newspapers friendly to the object here announced, are respectfully requested to insert this announcement in their columns.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Atlantic Monthly for January opens with an account of "Governor John Winthrop in Old England," by Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., and contains besides contributions by Agassiz, Bryant, Longfellow, Holmes, Lowell, Mrs. Stowe, Miss Prescott, Gail Hamilton, and C. C. Hazewell. Bryant's contribution—a poem on "The Planting of the Apple Tree"—will be found in another column. Mrs. Stowe contributes the first number in a series of "House and Home Papers." Holmes gives us a discriminating article, on the services to the loyal cause of Henry Ward Beecher in England, under the title of "The Minister Plenipotentiary." Lowell's contribution is a tribute to the memory of Col. Robert Gould Shaw. We copy two stanzas:

"Brave, good, and true,
I see him stand before me now,
And read again on that clear brow,
Where victory's signal flew,
How sweet were life! Yet, by the mouth firm set,
And look made up for Duty's utmost debt,
I could divine he knew
That death within the sulphurous hostile lines,
In the mere wreck of nobly puttied designs,
Plucks heart's-ease, and not rue.

* * * * * * * * *

Right in the van,
On the red rampart's slippery swell,
With heart that beat a charge, he fell
Forward, as fits a man:
But the high soul burns on to light men's feet
Where death for noble ends makes dying sweet;
His life her crescent's span
Orbs full with share in their undarkening days
Who ever climbed the battalious steeps of praise
Since valor's praise began."

The Continental Monthly for January presents the usual variety. Contents: "Retrospective," by Rev. Dr. Henry; "Sketches of American Life and Scenery," by L. D. Pychowaka; "Reason, Rhyme, and Rhythm," compiled and written by Mrs. M. W. Cook; "Our Article"; "The Lesson of the Wood," by George W. Bungay: "Diary of Frances Krasinska"; "The Great Struggle"; "American Finances and Resources," by Hon. R. J. Walker; "The Decline of England," by S. I. Bayard, Woodbury, N. J.; "Temptation," by Count Sigismund Krasinski, translated by Professor Podbielski; "Madagascar," by W. H. Whitmore; "A Vigil with St. Louis," by E. Fonton; "Union not to be Maintained by Force," by Hon. F. P. Stanton; "Was he Successful?" by Richard B. Kimball; "The Great American Crisis," by S. P. Andrews; "The English Press," by Nicholas Rowe, London; "The Conscription Act of March 3d," by L. M. Haverstick; Literary Notices; Editor's Table. Besides all these good things we have, in a supplemental sheet, the Address of Hon. Robert J. Walker at the celebration of American Thanksgiving Day, in London, Nov. 26.—New York: John F. Trow, 50 Greene St.

The Illustrated Annual Register of Rural Affairs for 1864, besides the astronomical matter common to every Almanac, contains over 100 pages of "Practical Suggestions for the Farmer and Horticulturist, embellished with about one hundred and thirty beautiful engravings." It is a complete Vade-Mecum for the Farmer, giving him information on almost every subject that claims his attention. The Editor is J. J. Thomas, author of "The American Fruit Culturist," and "Farm Implements," and Associate Editor of *The Country Gentleman* and *The Cultivator*. The publishers are Luther Tucker and Son, Albany, N. Y. Sold for 25 cents.

The London Quarterly Review for October (American Edition, Leonard Scott & Co., 38 Walker street) contains eight papers, with the following titles: Progress of Engineering Science; Life and Writings of Thomas Hood; Antiquity of Man; Coöperative Societies; Japan; Anti-Papal Movement in Italy; Froude's Queen Elizabeth; The Church of England and her Bishops.

The Lady's Friend: A Monthly Magazine of Literature and Fashion. Edited by Mrs. Henry Peterson. Vol. I., No. 1, January, 1864. Published by Deacon and Peterson, 319 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, for $2 a year. Among the contributors to this number we notice Eleanor C. Donnelly, Mrs. Peterson, Julia Eugenia Mott, Harriet W. Stillman, T. J. Chambers, Virginia F. Townsend, Annie F. Kent, Mrs. Margaret Hosmer, and Mrs. Eliza Sproat Randolph. Besides its literary attractions, "The Lady's Friend" has a steel engraving, "Gabriel Wilkie's Return," and extensive illustrations of the newest fashions in dress.

WOMEN'S PETITION FOR EMANCIPATION.

We give below the form of petition adopted by the Women's National Loyal League. If any of our readers are not otherwise supplied, they can copy this on a sheet of paper and commence at once the work of obtaining signatures.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

(Men)

The Undersigned, Women of the United States above the age of eighteen years, earnestly pray that your Honorable Body will pass, at the earliest practicable day, an Act emancipating all Persons of African descent held to involuntary service or labor in the United States.

Name.	*Residence.*

When the sheet is filled, add others of the same width to the foot of it, with paste or mucilage. The signatures should be by the persons themselves, or else written at their request. Add, at close of each petition, the number of signatures contained, and name of Town, County and State whence it comes. Return to Women's National Loyal League, 20 Cooper Institute, New York.

Grand Jubilee Meeting.—The American Freedmen's Friend Society—an association of colored people—will hold a grand Jubilee Meeting, in behalf of the Freedmen and Colored Soldiers on the banks of the Mississippi, at the Cooper Institute next Monday evening, at 7½ o'clock. Addresses are expected from some of the most eloquent and influential men of the country, among whom are the Rev. Doctors Tyng, Cheever and Bellows, Col. Fairman and others. A band of music will be in attendance, and the Hall will be appropriately decorated. The proceeds from the sale of tickets—the price of which is 25 cents—after defraying expenses, will be used for the benefit of the Freedmen and the families of Colored Soldiers.

A Stuffed Bloodhound.—The Beaufort (S. C.) *Free South* stated recently that Col. Higginson had sent to Boston the skin of one of the bloodhounds killed by Capt. Bryant's party in their late raid on rebel territory. The intention was that it should be stuffed and mounted, and form one of the attractions of the late Sanitary Commission Fair. Not having seen it mentioned among the curiosities exhibited there, we infer that it could not be got ready in time; and now we venture to express the hope that it will be sent to the great Fair for the same object, to be opened in this city on the 22d of February.

Typographical Blunder.—Priding ourselves, as we do, upon the typographical accuracy of The Standard, we were not a little annoyed last week in finding that the Printer, by an almost unaccountable oversight, had put the outside forms to press without making the needful change in the date and numbers from those of the previous week. But accidents will happen even in the best regulated printing-offices.

Morton's Gold Pens are now sold at the same prices as before the commencement of the war; this is entirely owing to the Manufacturer's improvements in machinery, his present large Retail Business and Cash-in-Advance System; for, until he commenced advertising, his business was done on Credit and *strictly with the Trade.*

The Morton Gold Pens are the only ones sold at old prices, as the makers of all other gold pens charge the Premium on the Gold, Government Tax, etc.; but Morton has in no case changed his prices, Wholesale or Retail.

Of the great numbers sent by mail to all parts of the world during the past few years, not one in a thousand has failed to reach its destination in safety; showing that the Morton Gold Pen can be obtained by any one, in every part of the world, at the same price, postage only excepted.

Reader, you can have an enduring, always ready, and reliable Gold Pen, exactly adapted to your hand and style of writing, which will do your writing vastly cheaper than Steel Pens; and at the present almost universal High-Pressure Price of everything, you can have a Morton Gold Pen cheaper, in proportion to the labor spent upon it and material used, than any other Gold Pen in the World. If you want one, see the "Pen is Mightier than the Sword," on the fourth page.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

The Army of the Potomac.

From the Army of the Potomac the only item of news is the announcement of the departure of several veteran regiments for their homes to spend their furloughs of thirty days. Eight or ten regiments have already left.

Exchange of Prisoners.

Gen. Butler has put a new phase upon the matter of the exchange of prisoners. He has succeeded in rescuing five hundred of our men from filth and starvation in Richmond. But it is now reported that the rebels will not proceed with the exchange unless our government abandons all the questions in controversy, and recognizes the rebel law of retaliation against black troops and their white officers. It is also said that the rebels refuse to treat with Gen. Butler on any question, because of Jeff. Davis's proclamation of last year, denouncing him as an outlaw. This position is very ridiculous, as they already have treated with him, receiving communications, medicines, and five hundred of their own men at his hands. Gen. Butler has adroitly thrown the responsibility of an utter refusal to proceed with the exchange upon the rebel authorities, and compelled them to assign most ridiculous reasons therefor—reasons which they will have to abandon whenever Gen. Butler takes his next step.—*Times.*

From the Department of the Gulf.

We have New-Orleans advices to the 19th ult. There was no stirring news, but affairs in Texas were very encouraging. Large numbers of the people were giving in their adhesion to the Union. Gen. Washburne was moving upon Indianola and Lavacca, and would probably occupy them without resistance. It was believed that our troops would soon concentrate at San Antonio for the final attack upon Magruder. The health of the troops was good.

The arrival of Gen. A. J. Hamilton, Military Governor of Texas, gives joy and spirit to the army and enthusiasm to every Texan. He is not merely popular; he is viewed with enthusiasm and attachment by the people of this State who are loyal. He will bring round him thousands who have been waiting for months in the cedar brakes and chapparals of northern and western Texas for his bidding, and call other thousands to repentance.

Brilliant Achievement.

From Gen. Averill's Department we have news of a most brilliant achievement by his command, in the destruction of the Virginia and East Tennessee Railroad at Salem, in the Blue Ridge Valley, about seventy miles west of Lynchburg. Gen. Averill penetrated to this point on the 16th ult., and destroyed the bridges and culverts on the road for a distance of fifteen miles. At Salem, three large warehouses were destroyed, containing an immense amount of stores of all kinds, among which were 100,000 bushels of corn, 10,000 bushels of wheat, 2,000 barrels of flour, 2,000 barrels of meat, and many other articles, the loss of which, to the rebels, will be almost irreparable. Gen. Averill was opposed, on his return, by six different commands of the enemy, but he cut his way through, and returned with small loss.

The Army and the Negroes.

"Everywhere the American General receives his most useful and reliable information from the Negro, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

From the Fort Jackson Affair.

The New Orleans correspondent of the New York *Times*, under date Dec. 12, says: The city was kept in the utmost state of excitement, from the morning of the 10th to the afternoon of the 11th, with the most extraordinary rumors of a fearful revolt of the whole colored garrison at Fort Jackson. It is impossible for me to give you all the protean shapes which rumor assumed as it always does upon such occasions, especially among those with whom the will is father to the thought. First we heard that five or six white officers had been killed; then twenty—literally chopped to pieces; then that two or three of our gunboats had been disabled by the "insurgents"; then——but why follow up all the monstrous falsehoods that the seceah here were industriously circulating, temporarily feeding the disloyal upon false nourishment, and making havoc of the nerves of timid old ladies?

When the farce had gone on far enough, and might have become mischievous if prolonged to the departure of the Morning Star, which was expected to leave on Saturday morning—in allowing garbled and exaggerated statements of this petty affair to reach the North—*The Times* came out on Sunday afternoon of Friday with the few following official words, which had the effect of oil poured upon troubled waters:

"Some excitement occurred at Fort Jackson, on the evening of the 9th inst., in the course of an altercation between one of the officers and some of the men. Fortunately, the disturbance was soon quieted, and order was restored in the garrison without bloodshed."

The correspondent of *The Evening Post* supplies the following particulars: The regiment stationed here, at Fort St. Phillip and Fort Jackson, was about one thousand strong, and under command of Col. Drew and Lieut.-Col. Benedict. Col. Benedict was a cruel, brutal man to his men, swearing and occasionally striking them. The regiment, the Fourth of the Corps d'Afrique, was on the 8th divided, and one half called the Fifth and stationed at Fort St. Phillip, under command of Col. Charles A. Hoctwell, and new officers to be sent to it. The Fifth was at Fort Jackson, across the river.

On the 9th Lieut.-Col. Benedict tied a man down and flogged him severely. To this the men objected, as but a few days ago they were told, by Adjt.-Gen. Thomas, that they were to be flogged no more; that they were freemen and soldiers, and should be kindly treated. They rebelled, took their arms and proceeded to drive Lieut.-Col. Benedict from the camp. He took refuge on board the steamer Suffolk amid a terrible volley of musketry. When the men discovered that the Lieut.-Col. was gone they hid themselves in the fort and woods, fearful of what the result would be; but when called upon by other officers of the regiment they returned and stacked their arms, sorry for what had occurred, and protesting that they meant no harm toward any one or anything but Lieut.-Col Benedict.

That Col. Benedict was to blame for his harsh treatment, there is no doubt, and the fault must rest with him. He is not likely to return to the regiment, even if he is not dismissed the service. No action has been taken for punishment yet, so far as I can learn, and the regiment has been more faithful and prompt than ever in its duties and drills since the cruel Lieutenant-Colonel left. What action will be taken I cannot tell. The men are obedient, inoffensive and tractable; they love a soldier's life, and will die for an officer who befriends and well treats them. They are like Newfoundland dogs in regard and faithfulness, and as kind and gentle; but they will resist any attempt to reënslave them so long as muskets and forty rounds of cartridges are in their hands. In this disturbance but one was wounded, no lives were lost, and quiet was restored in an hour, though the whole five hundred men joined in the expulsion.

The Colored Soldiers under Gen. Birney.

The camp at Benedict, on the Patuxent, St. Mary's County, Md., under the command of Col. Wm. Birney, yesterday promoted to a Brigadier-Generalship, his commission to date from May 23, 1863, contains 2,400 colored soldiers, comprising the 4th, 7th, 9th and 19th Regiments. The three former are full regiments, but of the latter only four companies have yet been raised. Gen. Birney, however, is rapidly procuring recruits with his four steamboats, with which he pays frequent visits to adjoining plantations. He has raised beside the above named the 1st and 2d Colored Regiments, and has enlisted since the beginning of the war 3,110 slaves, the residue being free negroes. Gen. Birney says that the chief obstacle in the way of his operations is the circumstance that married slaves who enlist are obliged to leave their wives and children in the hands of masters who are sure to maltreat them in revenge for the loss of the husband and father. Tens and hundreds of such have come to the camp offering to enlist if they could take their wives and children with them, or could be assured that they would be safe and well cared for during their absence. A law declaring the freedom of the wife and children of every slave who shall enlist into the service of his country, would, in the opinion of Gen. Birney, do more to stimulate volunteering from this class of the population than any other provision of law except one putting them on the same footing with white soldiers as regards pay and emoluments—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

From the Mississippi.

Adjt.-Gen. Thomas has returned from the Lower Mississippi and reported his work, as the great organizer of negro troops. It is stated that he has put in the field 26,000 drilled slaves; that these are in due proportions artillery, infantry and cavalry—the latter mounted on mules; that he has given Banks alone 17,000 of them. Men gather from his conversation that he regards these black soldiers as the best in our service. He has 51,000 women and children under his care. They will be placed on abandoned plantations—the women under wages, the children too, but at the lightest work—the lessees of the plantations being bound to the justest care of both. He is leasing the sugar and cotton estates in Mississippi and Louisiana rapidly, and not for stipulated rent, but for a royalty on the produce—$4 a bale for cotton of four hundred pounds, one cent a pound for sugar, and five cents a bushel for corn and potatoes. This rent goes into the National Treasury. The farms pay besides, the direct revenue tax. Gen. Thomas' report is said to justify his method of leasing the plantations as he found them, with their gin houses, boiling house, engines, tools, mules and all, as one of necessity. There was no time to subdivide them—nor to erect new dwellings for a subdivided tenancy. The General will return to his work almost immediately, going to Grant's army, where he expects to organize ten regiments of negroes. Thence to New Orleans; thence to Texas; thence to Pensacola, organizing and arming the slaves everywhere, and examining rigidly the white officers who apply to command them. His labors already have won for him the vindictive hate of the rebels. They sought his life in Natchez, while the guest of Mr. Marshall. They had troops and artillery in ambush at two points of the Mississippi River to destroy or take the steamer Rocket on which he was a passenger.—*Wash. Cor. Times.*

Robert Small, Captain of a Government Steamer.

Hilton Head, Dec. 6.—All who know anything about this war are familiar with the story of Robert Small, the brave negro who brought the steamer Planter out of Charleston Harbor more than two years since. Since that brave deed he has been almost constantly in the service of the Government, was on board the ill-fated Keokuk as pilot, in the first attack upon Sumter by Dupont, and has since in the same capacity penetrated nearly every inlet and creek along the entire coast, and been under fire for days, and sometimes weeks at a time. After serving on many vessels, he again found himself on the same steamer he brought out of Charleston Harbor. He was once more discharging the duties of pilot on board the Planter, [illegible] days since Lieut.-Col. Elwell, Chief-Quartermaster of this Department, required the services of this vessel where she would be liable to come under the fire of rebel guns. The captain, a brawny white sailor, refused to go with the vessel. The moment the fact became known at headquarters, Lieut.-Col. Elwell, without consultation with any higher authority, issued the following order, which, for simple justice to a brave and loyal negro, officially acknowledged, has seldom been equalled in this or any other department. It is unnecessary to say that Robert Small took command of the vessel, and faithfully discharged the duty required of him.

Office of Chief Quartermaster,
Fort Royal, S. C., Nov. 26, 1863.

Capt. A. T Dunton, Chief Assistant Quartermaster, Folly and Morris Islands.

Sir: You will please place Robert Small in charge of the United States transport Planter as Captain. He brought her out of Charleston Harbor more than a year ago, running under the guns of Sumter, Moultrie, and the other defenses of that stronghold. He is an excellent pilot, of undoubted bravery, and in every respect worthy of the position. This is due him, as a proper recognition of his heroism and services. The present Captain is a coward, though a white man. Dismiss him, therefore, and give the steamer to this brave black Saxon.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
J. J. Elwell,
Chief Quartermaster Department South.

It may interest some to know that the above order was immediately approved by Gen. Gillmore.—*Cor. Tribune.*

Recruiting for the Colored Regiment.

The colored regiment which is being raised in this city, under the auspices of the Union League Club, has already over 500 men in camp at Riker's Island. This regiment is to belong to the regular army, and is numbered the Twentieth. It is the first colored regiment raised in this State, and the colored recruits enlisting in any part are to be assigned to it. The Union League Club are to have the naming of the line officers, and several have already been sent on to Washington for examination. The recruits for this regiment receive the State bounty of $75 and the city bounty of $300 the same as white volunteers, but do not receive any bounty from the United States government. The enlistments for the regiment number about 25 daily. Over 40 have enlisted from Poughkeepsie. A great many complaints come to the headquarters of the regiment, No. 950 Fourth street, from the volunteers who have been sent to Riker's Island, that they have been swindled out of their bounty. This is particularly the case with the volunteers who have enlisted in the Spinola Brigade. The Committee of the Union League Club pay $10 premium to any person bringing a recruit, as the government premium does not apply to colored volunteers.—*Times, Dec.* 28.

Special Notices.

A General Emancipation Act.—Aaron M. Powell and Wendell P. Garrison will speak at

Canaan, N. Y., Sunday, Jan. 3.
West Winfield, N. Y., Wednesday, Jan. 6.
Bridgewater, N. Y., Thursday, Jan. 7.
Rome, N. Y., Friday, Jan. 8.
Peterboro, N. Y., Sunday, Jan. 10.
Cazenovia, N. Y., Tuesday, Jan. 12.
De Ruyter, N. Y., Wednesday, Jan. 13.
Canastota, N. Y., Friday, Jan. 15.
Syracuse, N. Y., Sunday, Jan. 17.

Universal Emancipation!—New Hampshire Campaign.—Stephen S. Foster will lecture in New Hampshire as follows:

Bradford, Saturday and Sunday, Jan. 2 and 3.
Sutton, Monday, Jan. 4.
New London, Tuesday, Jan. 5.
Webster, Wednesday, Jan. 6.
Also, A. T. Foss and Wm. A. Jackson, "Jeff. Davis's Coachman," will lecture in
Andover, Saturday and Sunday, Jan. 2 and 3.
Wilmot Flat, Monday, Jan. 4.
Dánbury, Tuesday, Jan. 5.
Springfield, Wednesday, Jan. 6.
Croyden and vicinity, Thursday, Jan. 7 to 12.

We understand it to be the intention of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to make the New Hampshire Campaign as thorough and effective as possible; and they earnestly invite pecuniary, and every other co-operation, on the part of the Friends of Universal Emancipation.

American Anti-Slavery Society.

COLLECTIONS

*By the Finance Committee at the Third Dec

THE STANDARD.

THE PLANTING OF THE APPLE-TREE.

BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

COME, let us plant the apple-tree!
Cleave the tough greensward with the spade;
Wide let its hollow bed be made;
There gently lay the roots, and there
Sift the dark mould with kindly care,
And press it o'er them tenderly,
As, round the sleeping infant's feet,
We softly fold the cradle-sheet:
So plant we the apple-tree.

What plant we in the apple-tree?
Buds, which the breath of summer days
Shall lengthen into leafy sprays;
Boughs, where the thrush with crimson breast
Shall haunt and sing and hide her nest.
We plant upon the sunny lea
A shadow for the noontide hour,
A shelter from the summer shower,
When we plant the apple-tree.

What plant we in the apple-tree?
Sweets for a hundred flowery springs,
To load the May-wind's restless wings,
When, from the orchard-row, he pours
Its fragrance through our open doors;
A world of blossoms for the bee;
Flowers for the sick girl's silent room;
For the glad infant sprigs of bloom,
We plant with the apple-tree.

What plant we in the apple-tree?
Fruits that shall swell in sunny June,
And redden in the August noon,
And drop, as gentle airs come by
That fan the blue September sky;
While children, wild with noisy glee,
Shall scent their fragrance as they pass,
And search for them the tufted grass
At the foot of the apple-tree.

And when above this apple-tree
The winter stars are quivering bright,
And winds go howling through the night,
Girls, whose young eyes o'erflow with mirth,
Shall peel its fruit by cottage-hearth,
And guests in prouder homes shall see,
Heaped with the orange and the grape,
As fair as they in tint and shape,
The fruit of the apple-tree.

The fruitage of this apple-tree
Winds and our flag of stripe and star
Shall bear to coasts that lie afar,
Where men shall wonder at the view,
And ask in what fair groves they grew;
And they who roam beyond the sea
Shall look, and think of childhood's day,
And long hours passed in summer play
In the shade of the apple-tree.

Each year shall give this apple-tree
A broader flush of roseate bloom,
A deeper maze of verdurous gloom,
And loosen, when the frost-clouds lower,
The crisp brown leaves in thicker shower;
The years shall come and pass, but we
Shall hear no longer, where we lie,
The summer's songs, the autumn's sigh,
In the boughs of the apple-tree.

And time shall waste this apple-tree.
Oh, when its aged branches throw
Thin shadows on the sward below,
Shall fraud and force and iron will
Oppress the weak and helpless still?
What shall the task of mercy be,
Amid the toils, the strifes, the tears
Of those who live when length of years
Is wasting this apple-tree?

"Who planted this old apple-tree?"
The children of that distant day
Thus to some aged man shall say;
And, gazing on its mossy stem,
The gray haired man shall answer them:
"A poet of the land was he,
Born in the rude, but good old times;
'Tis said he made some quaint old rhymes
On planting the apple-tree."

—Atlantic Monthly for January.

THIRD DECADE CELEBRATION.

LETTERS FROM ANTI-SLAVERY FRIENDS.

FROM JOHN JAY, ESQ.

To Messrs. J. M. MCKIM, *and others, Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.*

GENTLEMEN: It is with regret that I find myself unable to accept the invitation with which you have honored me to assist at the celebration of your Thirtieth Anniversary.

The term of a generation has elapsed since that eventful assemblage at Philadelphia in 1833, and we who survive are permitted to see the great objects which were then proposed in the course of rapid accomplishment.

Slavery has already ceased to have a constitutional or legal existence in the rebel States, and the faith of the National government and the American people has been solemnly pledged to that act, by the Commander-in-Chief of our Army and Navy; and at his command also, rightfully issued under the same war power and on grounds of military necessity, the colored people are being raised to the rank of soldiers and citizens. But we cannot overlook the fact that these objects of our life-long devotion are being effected by other arguments than the narrow constitutional means and moral suasion to which the founders of your Society so rigidly limited its efforts.

Man proposes, but God orders; and it was ordained that the Slave Power of America, hardening its heart like its prototype of Egypt, and raising its bloody hand against the American people to the end that it might erect a slave empire on the ruins of our republic, should, by its own act, forfeit the constitutional guarantees by which it was protected, and should itself invite its extinguishment by the tramp of armies and the crash of battle. While the slaveholders in their madness have thus inaugurated a war in which slavery is to perish, it is to be remembered that their allies at the North persistently allured them to their doom.

The first gun aimed against Sumter, and which sounded the knell of slavery, would never have been fired, but for the assurance given by Democratic leaders at the North, who believed the masses to be as rotten as themselves, that they would assist the rebels in revolutionizing the government; and when the war had progressed for nearly two years, these rebel-sympathizers, foiled in their effort to convince the nation that it had no right to defend its existence, attempted to stay the national arm by discouraging volunteering at the North, and so compelled the President to call upon the black man to assist in maintaining our constitutional integrity. How promptly that call has been responded to, how gallantly he has done his duty as a soldier at Port Hudson, Milliken's Bend and Fort Wagner, and how popular the scheme of enlisting colored troops has become from the simple fact that every black man who joins the army enables a white man to stay at home, are matters familiar to us all; and we can hardly fail to admire the inscrutable ways of Providence, as we wonderingly behold the abolition of slavery and the elevation of the colored race, for which we had labored for a quarter of a century with such small success, now being rapidly and effectually accomplished through the agency of Jefferson Davis, Mr. Vallandigham and Gov. Seymour. He maketh, says Holy Writ, the wrath of man to praise Him, and the remainder of wrath shall He restrain.

A time so full of excitement as the present, is not the most fitting for a calm review of the history of the Society, whose birth you are met to celebrate; and yet, as our work is so nearly finished, and your next decade will probably dawn upon the American continent unpolluted by the footstep of a slave, it may be well now to recall the political principles declared in the Constitution of your Society, as established at Philadelphia and reaffirmed in the face of the malignant persecutions to which its early members were subjected. They are not to be lightly overlooked by the future historian of America; for when the story of their struggle is truly told, there will be no brighter page in American history than that which records their pure philanthropy, their intelligent patriotism, their wise statesmanship, their moral courage, and their heroic defence of Christian principle and constitutional right against the domineering power of an overwhelming and brutal majority.

If the founders of the American Anti-Slavery Society must yield to Jefferson Davis and his confreres, so far as the merit goes of organizing a thoroughly efficient project of immediate abolition, by so much as the bayonet and the bullet, iron-clads and monitors, Greek fire and swamp-angels are more convincing arguments than slow appeals to the conscience and the reason, especially when the one is blunted and the other perverted—they need yield to none in the claim which their children will make for them, that they were the exemplars of that spirit of devotion to Christian truth and American principle that to-day like a halo enwraps our country, and unites us in a common resolve to maintain, at whatever cost, against Southern slavery and European neutrality, the unity, the greatness and the freedom of our Republic.

I am aware that this view differs somewhat from the portrait which has been usually painted of American Abolitionists; that they have been pictured as disunionists, amalgamationists and incendiaries, anxious to interfere with slavery in defiance of the Constitution, and to incite servile insurrection without regard to humanity. But who was the painter of these darkly shadowed and distorted features? The Slave Power, disguised as a conservator of the Constitution, and attempting to escape the issue which we tendered by inventing fraudulent side issues. Now that the Slave Power is stripped of the mask under which it dared to impeach the patriotism of the Abolitionists, the American people will at their leisure review the charges which many of them have long believed.

One quality is already accorded to them even by their intelligent opponents, and that is moral courage, indomitable pluck. A handful of men, without power, wealth or official influence, they arrayed themselves against American slavery, reigning supreme in Church and State, as did the English Quakers against the British slave trade; and although they had none other than moral weapons and an armory of facts, the Slave Power recognized them at once as an adversary to be feared and to be crushed; for it dreaded, as was frankly admitted, their influence not simply with the people of the North, but upon the consciences of the slaveholders themselves.

The members of your Society were compelled to meet the furious onset of the Slave Power almost from the moment of their organization. Villified by a slaveholding President, whose message they answered with a protest of great dignity and force; denounced in both Houses of Congress by slaveholders and their tools; slandered by a demoralized press; derided from the bench; sneered at by the bar, and damned from the pulpit; hooted at in political and religious conventions; tabooed in would-be-aristocratic circles; threatened with legislative pains and penalties for exercising their constitutional prerogatives; howled at by ruffian mobs, their houses sacked, their churches invaded, their presses destroyed, their liberties violated, they maintained their integrity with undaunted front, yielding no iota of principle, but grandly fulfilling the injunction, "Stand like a beaten anvil!" Every new outrage, as they multiplied throughout the North, such as the dragging of a clergyman from his pulpit in New Hampshire, and his sentence, by a convenient magistrate, as a common brawler, to fifteen days hard labor, for having preached an anti-slavery sermon; or the leading of Mr. Garrison, that early and faithful pioneer of freedom, about the streets of Boston with a rope around his body, amid the plaudits of "gentlemen of property and standing"; or the murder of the brave Lovejoy, forerunner of the countless thousands since murdered by the same accursed power, so far from intimidating the Abolitionists, only inspired them with a sterner determination to rescue the country from the ruffianism of slavery, and they stood, and on the page of history, will forever stand; the successful champions of those constitutional rights, freedom of conscience and of speech, freedom of the press and of debate and the right of petition.

In vindicating the founders of the Society from the charges preferred against them by the slaveholders, and on the strength of which they were so bitterly persecuted—charges which were swallowed with disgraceful credulity by willing dupes, and which even now are sometimes repeated by men who lay claim to an ordinary degree of intelligence—it is necessary to refer to some historical facts in order that the opinions of individuals or of societies at a later date may not be confounded with the principles, pledges and conduct of the national organization formed at Philadelphia.

The principal charges on which its founders were arraigned were these:

1. That they disregarded and repudiated the Constitution of the United States.

2. That they were in favor of a dissolution of the Union.

3. That they advocated the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the States.

4. That they favored marriages between blacks and whites.

5. That they approved of and incited insurrection among the slaves.

When the Anti-Slavery Convention met at Philadelphia, Judge Jay, who was prevented from attending as a delegate, urged upon them by letter the necessity of an explicit declaration of their political principles to meet the baseless charges already made against them.

The first number of *The Emancipator* had shortly before announced, that "constitutional restrictions, independently of other considerations, forbid all other than moral interference with slavery in the Southern States"; and the Convention incorporated three distinct propositions in the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

1. That each State in which slavery exists has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to legislate in regard to abolition in that State.

2. That they would endeavor in a constitutional way to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic slave trade, and to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and likewise to prevent the extension of slavery to any State that might thereafter be admitted to the Union.

3. That the Society would never in any way countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.

Under this Constitution and these distinct pledges the Society rapidly increased in numbers, strength and influence. Its lecturers, agents, newspapers and publications aroused the country, and auxiliary societies sprang up far and near, numbering in 1836, 527; in 1837, 1,006; in 1838, 1,256; and in 1839, 1,650 auxiliaries had adopted the principles of its Constitution.

It was to crush anti-slavery effort under these clearly defined limitations that mobs were inaugurated in 1834 to sack churches and houses in New York, and to insult Mr. Garrison in Boston, and "conservative meetings" were held in various Northern cities "to consign to execration" the Abolitionists as "abandoned knaves and hypocrites."

In 1835 the Board of your Society issued an address to the public for the advisement of those who had been led to believe that they "were pursuing measures at variance not only with the Constitutional rights of the South, but with the precepts of humanity and religion."

The address was signed by Arthur Tappan, President, and also by John Rankin, William Jay, Elizur Wright, A. L. Cox, Lewis Tappan, Sam E. Cornish, S. S. Josselyn and Theodore S. Wright. As it excited marked attention both in America and in Europe, and is the fullest official exposition of the views of the Society, you will perhaps allow me to quote briefly its several heads. They were as follows:

1. That Congress has no more right to abolish slavery in the Southern States than in the French West India Islands.

2. That the exercise of any other than moral influence to induce Abolition by the State Legislatures would be unconstitutional.

3. That Congress had the right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and that it was their duty to efface so foul a stain from the National escutcheon.

4. That American citizens have the right to express and publish their opinions of the Constitution, laws and institutions of any and every State and nation under heaven, and "we never intend to surrender the liberty of speech, of the press or of conscience—blessings we have inherited from our fathers, and which we mean, so far as we are able, to transmit unimpaired to our children."

5. That they had uniformly deprecated all forcible attempts on the part of the slaves to recover their freedom.

6. That they would deplore any servile insurrection, on account of the calamities that would attend it and the occasion it might give for increased severity.

7. That the charge that they had sent publications to the South, designed to incite the slaves to insurrection, was utterly and unequivocally false.

8. That the charge that they had sent any publications to the slaves was false.

9. That they had employed no agents in the slave States to distribute their publications.

10. They reiterated their conviction that slavery was sinful, and injurious to the country, and that immediate abolition would be both safe and wise, and that they had no intention of refraining from the expression of such views in future.

11. They reiterated their views in reference to the elevation of the colored people.

12. They said: "We are accused of acts that tend to a dissolution of the Union, and even of wishing to destroy it. We have never calculated 'the value of the Union,' because we believe it to be INESTIMABLE, and that the abolition of slavery will remove the chief danger of its dissolution."

In conclusion they said: "Such, fellow-citizens, are our principles. Are they unworthy of republicans and of Christians?" And, after referring to the unconstitutional usurpation of the government to protect slavery and to prevent free discussion and the freedom of the mails, they closed with the prophetic warning: "Surely, we need not remind you that if you submit to such an encroachment on your liberties, the days of our Republic are numbered, and that although Abolitionists may be the first, they will not be the last victims offered at the shrine of arbitrary power."

As the country, under the stirring appeals and startling facts put forth by the American Society, its auxiliaries and its members, awoke to a new appreciation of the evils and dangers of slavery to the Republic as well as to the slave, some earnest Abolitionists, stung by a sense of its excessive wrong, and unwilling to await the slow remedy of moral suasion, or limited Congressional interference, sought to find some shorter method of accomplishing its destruction. Here and there one inclined to the belief that Congress could constitutionally abolish it; others that its very existence was unconstitutional and should be so declared by the Supreme Court; and a few, at a later period, that it could be effected only by a dissolution of the Union.

But all of these suggestions were absolutely irreconcilable with the Constitution adopted in Philadelphia. In 1838 the late Alvan Stewart, Esq., of Utica, attempted to change that Constitution by an elaborate argument in favor of the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the States, and the proposed amendment was urged with great vigor and eloquence, but it was as vigorously resisted as unsound in principle and inconsistent with good faith, and the attempt signally failed.

In the same year the Massachusetts Society reconsidered some resolution that had been hastily adopted, and resolved, "That Congress has no power to abolish slavery in the several States of this Union."

The same year Mr. Ellis Gray Loring wrote to Judge Jay from Boston: "I know of but one or two persons here who believe in the power of Congress over slavery in the States."

With the division that occurred a year or two later in the American Society, the removal of the old board to Boston, and the formation in New York of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the national unity of the organization was broken, and widely differing views began to be expressed by anti-slavery men, who did not hold to the principles declared at Philadelphia upon the religious and political bearings of the question.

Prominent individuals divided upon the status of slavery, and the best mode of overthrowing it; and neither the Liberty party, headed by those veteran Abolitionists, Gerrit Smith and William Goodell, nor Wendell Phillips, the golden-mouthed exponent of the views entertained at Boston, fairly represented the constitutional principles defined by the American Society, and adopted by nearly two thousand auxiliary associations.

But—and this is an historic fact of interest and importance—as the increasing insolence and usurpation of the Slave Power induced the conviction that if the Abolitionists had commenced the struggle to obtain freedom for the slave, the American people must continue it to preserve their own; and with their characteristic common sense the people devoted themselves to the task of overthrowing its power, and checking its extension, and organized for the purpose, under the wise lead of Abolitionists, in 1855, the Republican party. They incorporated into that platform the identical constitutional principles on which, thirty years ago, the American Anti-Slavery Society took its stand.

On these principles, for the holding of which we and our fathers were denounced as incendiaries and fanatics, Fremont was nominated and Lincoln was elected; and the sufficiency of those principles—the restriction of slavery extension, the abolition of slavery in the District, and of the inter-State slave trade, and the emancipation of the National government from the control of the Slave Power—to cripple and eventually to destroy slavery, was significantly recognized by the slaveholders themselves when they resolved, some twenty-five or thirty years ago, that the instant those principles were triumphant in the National government, they would anticipate the overthrow of slavery by overthrowing the republic.

Prejudices deeply seated may obscure, perhaps, for another generation, the credit due to the gentlemen whose careful action in convention you are met to celebrate; but the candid historian will admit that they exhibited not a blind devotion to the cause of the slave, but a conscientious regard to the integrity of the Constitution and the welfare and happiness of the country. He will record that it was the Abolitionist who, avoiding all infringement on the constitutional rights of the slaveholders, would allow no infringement on their own, and that to them belongs the honor of vindicating the right of petition and maintaining against brute violence and legislative menace, freedom of speech and of the press. While he will be compelled to acknowledge that in many things they were defeated, that they opposed unsuccessfully the Seminole war and the Annexation of Texas under the late rebel John Tyler, that they failed in arresting that most wicked war waged by the Slave Power against Mexico under James K. Polk, and that accursed act, the Fugitive Slave Bill, under the renegade Abolitionist Millard Fillmore, and the removal, under Franklin Pierce, of the ancient land-mark fixed by the Missouri Compromise, he may say with truth, that they checkmated the Slave Power under James Buchanan in its efforts to force slavery into Kansas, and that they forever terminated its usurped supremacy upon the continent, when, defeating the traitors Bell and Breckinridge, they elected as President Abraham Lincoln.

Whatever errors of opinion or of action there may have been on the part of individuals or societies at a recent date, the political principles declared at Philadelphia have stood the test of time and trial, and have received the emphatic endorsement of the American people; and the anti-slavery movement in the United States, with few exceptions that more plainly show the rule, has been marked by statesmanlike characteristics, now crowned with success, and by a love of country that no delay, injustice or disappointment could impair or disturb.

Their progress was not always observed by the unobservant, and we heard occasionally that abolition was dead; but when the hour came that the Slave Power, drunken with blood and insolent with oppression, deemed itself strong enough to destroy the Republic, anticipating an easy victory by the aid of its fellow-traitors in the North, the hour had come also, although they knew it not, when the loyal American people were educated to that point of patriotism, pluck and constitutional strength, that they were able to meet the blow, treacherously as it was given, and to return it with a vigor that is sending slavery and the rebellion to a common grave.

It is an interesting fact, that while the rebel slaveholders, who still regard as their friends the Peace Democrats and conditional Unionists at the North, who veil their treason under very thin disguise, both slaveholders and slaves, long before the proclamation of Emancipation, foresaw the inevitable issue of the contest; and Beauregard came much nearer the truth than he has sometimes done, when he forbade his rebel troops to call by any other name than Abolitionist, every soldier who followed the old flag of his country, keeping step to the music of the Union and ready to die in its defence.

As we recall reverently the dead upon your roll of those who met at Philadelphia, to issue what has since proven to be a second Declaration of Independence, let us remember also, tenderly, our brave heroes, who, slain by slavery, sleep beneath the battle-fields of the Republic, and their comrades, our sons and brothers, who now maintain against that inhuman power the integrity, the supremacy, and the honor of our country.

Always, gentlemen, most faithfully yours,

JOHN JAY.

FROM JESSE STEDMAN.

MY DEAR SIR: Your invitation to attend the Convention of the American Anti-Slavery at the city of Philadelphia on the 3d and 4th of December came duly to hand, and I do assure you no man, more than myself, will feel a deeper interest in its action, or would more enjoy a brief interview with the early pioneers of this Heaven-appointed cause, in a city whose founder never stained his hands with human blood, nor his soul with a touch of that abomination of abominations, human bondage; and no man, more than myself, regards the importance of *decided, united* and untiring action in the cause of emancipation at this momentous crisis, when all, or nearly all, are disposed, either from policy or principle, to lend a helping hand. I would accept aid coming from *any* quarter, and from almost *any* motive, to exterminate and utterly *annihilate* the *cause* of all our national calamities. The most absurd and dangerous policy is to turn the abolition cause over to the government, as some seem disposed to do, when the second "ruler in the kingdom" tells the world "slavery is their business, not mine," and very complacently talks about "*returning prodigals*"! Returning prodigals, forsooth!! Thieves, murderers, pirates ranked under the mild cognomen of prodigals! A prodigal, in the common acceptation of the term, is an angel of light in the comparison, as he may not be guilty of a single act which the law regards criminal. I have less confidence than most men in the President, the Cabinet, or members of Congress, with a few honorable exceptions in regard to the latter, as to any action of either based upon the principle of immediate, universal emancipation as the duty of the government and right of the slave; and hence I regard the action of the American Anti-Slavery Society in this momentous crisis of immeasurable importance. The wants of the thousands already free, and the millions yet in bondage, if ever free, in the necessaries of life and education to render them fit subjects for civilized life, present an outlay and amount of labor to be done the most appalling. But, Mr. President, I am aware I hardly need urge the Convention to action when there are so many who have been longer in the harness and have labored so much more effectively than myself. In this connection I cannot but advert to the changed condition of public opinion since the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, an age ago, in the city where you assemble, dedicated to free discussion. *Then* my blood rose to fever heat, and remained there most of the time since. May your labor be crowned with success, and that speedily; and God grant that *moral necessity* may complete what military necessity commenced, and the joyous shouts of thirty-three million, free as the air of heaven, shake the continent from centre to circumference, and the benediction of the world, and the blessing of God rest upon all who have lent a helping hand to deliver the oppressed from the power of the oppressor.

JESSE STEDMAN.

FROM REV. JEHIEL CLAFLIN.

EAST WESTMORELAND, N. H., Nov. 28, 1863.

DEAR GARRISON: Your circular and letter of the 23d inst., inviting me to be present at the Decade celebration in the city of Philadelphia on the 3d and 4th of December proximo, was received; and as I shall be denied the pleasure of being present in person, to participate in the proceedings of that memorable and joyous occasion, allow me, dear sir, through you, to congratulate the veteran pioneers and faithful coadjutors in meeting each other again, after a long and arduous warfare, in the "city of brotherly love," where, thirty years ago, they met to inaugurate the grandest and most sublime movement since the Christian era. Being based, not on expediency but on principle, and depending, not on numbers but on the truth and the justice of their cause, they could not but have the sanction and approval of a just God and all-wise Ruler of the Universe; and relying on His all-potent arm for aid, their ultimate success could be but a question of time; and although many of the loved and dearly-remembered ones, co-laborers in this humanitary and heaven-approved enterprise, have fallen in the midst of the "irrepressible conflict," yet it has pleased the all-wise and merciful Father, graciously to spare the precious life of him, who, under God, was the first to call to repentance this guilty and oppressive nation—"to undo the heavy burdens, to break every yoke and let the oppressed go free"; and though one after another of the faithful ones has fallen, battling nobly in the true heroic and martyr spirit, for the deliverance of the oppressed, "remembering those in bonds as bound with them," yet others, catching the spirit of the noble dead, have risen up as new recruits to fill the ranks and help carry forward to final completion the great work so nobly begun. The occasion will be a rare one for those who have consecrated the strength of their years and manhood in the cause of the oppressed. Those who will be gathered there to greet each other again and renew old acquaintance, will gather new strength and new inspiration to press on to final victory this mighty death-grapple with the legions and powers of darkness. The true friends of immediate emancipation and universal freedom have abundant cause of rejoicing and hope in view of what has already been accomplished in the result of their faithful and indefatigable labors; "but the end is not yet." Slavery is a monster tenacious of life; but the harpoons of truth have been thrown by skillful hands, and the hideous monster is now writhing in his death-throes. Hitherto, our cause has been unpopular, but now its advocates and friends may be counted by many thousands; since, to be such, no longer endangers one's reputation or popularity; yet coming in at the eleventh hour "they shall receive their penny." Recounting on this occasion, as you certainly will, the marvellous changes in the public mind and heart in this nation in regard to this great question of the age, you may very pertinently ask, "What hath God wrought?" Thanking God for his favor and help in the past, let us gird up afresh with unfaltering fidelity and hope for the last decisive and final victory over the serried hosts of darkness, conscious that our duty is not done and our work complete until the last fetter is broken from the limbs of the last slave in the land. Let every true Abolitionist be encouraged, now that the North has been aroused and has leaped to "arms" and marshalled its hosts to vindicate our cause and the rights of humanity in "black and white." Let every heart and hand be quickened to new zeal and activity in the meritorious work of redeeming humanity from the iron grasp of tyrants and oppressors.

Let us all be hopeful that God, after having sufficiently chastened us, as a nation, for our pride, avarice, ambition, ingratitude and oppression, will yet bring us out of this fiery ordeal a united, prosperous and happy people, to be in the future, not a warning but an example to all the nations of the earth.

Feeling it an honor, of which I am not worthy, to have my humble name linked with the noble and honored champions of impartial and universal freedom, and praying that God's blessing may attend your gathering, I am, with much esteem, your fellow-laborer,

JEHIEL CLAFLIN.

FROM ARCHIBALD A. M'INTYRE.

PHILADELPHIA, December 1, 1863.

J. M. MCKIM, ESQ.—*Dear Sir:* A kind invitation was received to attend a meeting of your Society, to be held on the 3d and 4th inst.

While I have to decline it because of pressing engagements, I cannot but express my full conviction in the complete success of a cause, which, like yours, is right in itself, and which is sought to be promoted by instrumentalities only which are sanctioned by law, morality and religion. Efforts made to reform, based on "the conviction and repentance" of the wrong-doer, must in the end succeed, particularly when that wrong-doer is a community.

Very respectfully, yours,

ARCH. A. MCINTYRE.

FROM JOSHUA COFFIN.

NEWBURY, 30th November, 1863.

DEAR GARRISON: * * * What changes have taken place since December, 1833, and who then supposed that slavery would receive its death-blow by the hands of slavery itself? The first gun fired at Sumter was the signal of the death-knell of slavery. It will die hard, but die it must, although it may take a long time yet before the dying carcase is entirely dead or buried beyond the hope of resurrection. As it is every day revealing its detestable character, it is every day changing the opinions of the community, who have hitherto, like the priest and Levite, passed by on the other side, and been determined not to trouble themselves with such little things as the "nigger" question.

I wish I could be with you in Philadelphia this week; but as I cannot be with you in the flesh, I shall be with you in the spirit. I wish you a successful meeting, and hope that ere another decade shall have passed, the triumph of anti-slavery principles will be complete, and that the whole continent will join in the jubilee song, having been "regenerated and disenthralled by the irresistible genius of universal emancipation," directed as it undoubtedly has been by God's goodness, "whose ways are not as our ways, and His thoughts as our thoughts." The counsels of Ahithopel have been turned to foolishness, and like him the leaders of the rebellion are hanging themselves. Please give my respects to all, who may inquire about me, whom I formerly knew in Philadelphia, especially those who signed the Declaration in 1833. I wish I could see them all and hear the addresses and shake hands with those whom you may see and hear. But enough. Success to you, and may you and I live to see the consummation of our wishes.

Yours truly,

JOSHUA COFFIN.

THE ANNIVERSARY OF JOHN BROWN'S DEATH.

ON Wednesday evening a meeting, convened by the Emancipation Society, was held in the large room of the Whittington Club, to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the execution of John Brown, the hero of Harper's Ferry. There was a numerous attendance, and the proceedings were characterized by great enthusiasm. The chair was taken by W. T. Malleson, Esq., the Treasurer of the Emancipation Society.

The Chairman, in opening the meeting, commented upon the noble qualities of the martyr to whose memory they had met to do honor, and the great work he had wrought by his life, and still more by his heroic death.

M. D. Conway, Esq., of Virginia, then came forward, and was enthusiastically received. He commenced by relating the manner in which he heard the song of "John Brown" sung in Virginia by a number of American youths, and that he was informed that that song would be the American "Marseillaise" before the war was over (hear, hear). When John Brown struck the first blow against slavery he was thought to be mad, but he was not so. He had not been goaded to madness by his wrongs, as was asserted, for what he did was only carrying out a cool, determined, but bold plan, although he [the lecturer] did not think it a prudent one (hear, hear). When he was captured he pointed to the gallows, and said that if he came to die on it he would make it glorious by his death, and he had done so (cheers). He had for thirty years borne the chains of slavery, and had lost two of his children by the hands of the pro-slavery ruffians of Missouri. When he decided on striking the blow, the first weapon which fell into his hands at Harper's Ferry was the sword which had been sent by Frederick the Great to George Washington. On the 16th of December, 1859, he marched into Harper's Ferry with his twenty-one followers, and took it without firing a shot. He ordered that none of his enemies should be killed unless it was absolutely necessary in self-defence. His whole conduct was most forbearing, and he was a noble representative of the principle he wished to carry out. It was true that he was not in the nobility, but the nobility was in him (applause). He then read a great many of the questions which were put to John Brown after his arrest, and his replies, showing that the only object he had in the insurrection was to liberate the slaves. When his trial came on his counsel put in a plea of insanity, which was the only plea that could have saved him, but when he heard it he declined to allow it to be put forward, and preferred death to saving life by a falsehood (hear, hear). The speaker then read, amid profound silence, the speech which John Brown delivered when he was asked if he had anything to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, and in which he declared his object was not to commit treason, or to shed human blood, but to aid the slaves of Virginia to escape. After his sentence he had an interview with his wife, which was most affecting, and when the drop fell a shriek arose which electrified everybody present, and which would be long remembered all over America. The speaker next referred to the fact that the 2d of December had been made memorable by another even', the *coup d'état*, and instituted a comparison between the Emperor Napoleon and John Brown. He then remarked that it had been said that President Lincoln had declared that his Emancipation proclamation was the one great folly of his life. He did not believe it (cheers)—but if it were true, he would only make one more man who would crumble before the soul of John Brown, which was ever marching on.

The lecturer resumed his seat amid loud and repeated applause.

Mr. Washington Wilks moved the following resolution:

"That our cordial thanks be presented to Moncure D. Conway, Esq., of Virginia and New England, for his eloquent commemoration of the man of whose heroic death by cruel hands this day is the fourth anniversary; and in remembrance of whose sublime devotion to the cause of negro emancipation we renew our declaration of earnest sympathy with the government and people united under the flag of the American Republic in a sacred resolution to secure the freedom and equality of all good citizens."

Mr. George Thompson seconded the resolution, which was supported by the Rev. Sella Martin (formerly a slave), who gave some personal reminiscences of John Brown.

The resolution was carried amid great applause; and a vote of thanks, moved by Mr. F. W. Chesson, was also unanimously adopted.

The proceedings then terminated.—*London Dial.*

DEDICATION HYMN.*

ONE Father, God, we own;
One Spirit evermore;
One Christ, with manger, cross, and throne,
The Light, the Way, the Door.

In souls we hail his birth;
'Tis now he comes again;
His kingdom is the convert Earth,
His Church all faithful men.

The Scriptures thus we read;
Of strangest powers compiled,
To mould the heart and clear the creed
Of earth's frail, clouded child.

Its essence, not its writ,
Our sovereign rule we call;
Not fastening down all truth to It,
But widening It to all.

With this free reverence, Lord,
In Christly church estate,
With earnest, brotherly accord,
These halls we dedicate

To prayer and holy thought;
Affections set above;
To faiths from highest fountains brought;
And works of widest love.

Thy presence, Father, make
The refuge and supply;
And for thy Truth and Mercy's sake
Build on, and sanctify.

* By Rev. N. L. Frothingham, D.D., of Boston. Sung at the dedication of the Third Unitarian Church in New York (Rev. O. B. Frothingham, Pastor) on Christmas day.

LETTER FROM JOSIAH QUINCY.

BOSTON, Dec. 12, 1863.

The New England Society in the City of New York:

GENTLEMEN: I have received from Mr. Cowdin, Chairman of your Committee of Arrangements, your invitation to be present as your guest at a public dinner to be given on the occasion of the fifty-eighth anniversary of your Society. I recognize "the unusual interest, in a national point of view, of this celebration," which nothing should prevent me from attending but old age and an accident, which deprive me of all locomotion beyond home and its vicinity, and compel me to decline your proffered invitation, the tenor of which indicates that this result was not wholly unanticipated, since you request that in such case "I should say a few words in reply to a sentiment in honor of our country." Words, few or many, can add nothing to the honor of our country, since its course, ever since the secession of the slave States, has been one uninterrupted exhibition of spirit, wisdom and virtue. Such will always be the case in a republic when it is under the guidance of intelligence, fidelity, purity of purpose and freedom from all selfish and personal views in the conduct of its affairs. Under such auspices they have been undeviatingly conducted, with as few—if any—mistakes, considering the complexity and unparalleled difficulties of the period, as could have been possibly expected or reasonably hoped for. The truth of the head has thus far been gloriously responded to by the truth of the people to themselves and their posterity. They have as yet indicated no disposition to shrink from the fulfilment of that great trust which Heaven, in its wisdom, goodness and mercy, has committed to their care. They have not been terrified by the great sacrifice of patriotic lives which the exigencies of the contest for freedom have commanded, and will, in all human probability, continue for a time to exact. They have not been startled by the greatness of the debt which the pressing urgencies and nature of the contest have made inevitable. They have not been moved from the path of duty through the apprehensions by which whining selfishness or servile sympathizers have attempted to delude or corrupt. They have shown mankind, to the consternation of monarchies and aristocracies, the virtue and power of a republic resting on the general education of the masses, and on the power secured by its Constitution to every individual, however humble, of rising to the attainment of whatever wealth, station and influence, wisely and honestly directed, industry can aspire to. What remains but to continue and renew confidence and support in the wisdom and truthfulness of those in whose wisdom and fidelity we have already had such abundant experience?

Very respectfully, gentlemen, your obliged servant,

JOSIAH QUINCY.

"COTTON NOT KING."

UNDER this title Mr. George Thompson delivered an address, at the Whittington Club, a few evenings ago, Mr. Justin McCarthy presiding. The room was filled with a highly respectable audience. Mr. Thompson traced the growth of the American cotton trade from 1789, and of the British cotton manufacture from a still earlier period, until, in 1860, they had assumed proportions of a stupendous character. In that year our supply of cotton produced seventy million sterling worth of goods, twenty-five million of which were for home consumption, and the remainder for exportation. The amount of capital invested in the trade was about two hundred million, and some five million of the population were directly or indirectly concerned in this branch of industry. The cultivation of cotton in America dates from the establishment of the Union—then there were only two States, South Carolina and Georgia, which were devoted to the planting of cotton. Since that time seven other States, covering an area of five hundred thousand square miles, have been added to the cotton kingdom, while the value of the American cotton crop increased from £4,180,000 in 1821, to £38,200,000 in 1860. The speaker then commented upon the extraordinary rise which took place in the value of cotton between the years 1850 and 1860, and which was occasioned by the monopoly enjoyed by the slaveholders. He next expatiated upon the cupidity and ambition to which this monopoly gave birth in the minds of the planters; the plans they formed for the indefinite extension of slavery in the tropical regions of America; the check they first sustained by their defeat in Kansas and by the election of Mr. Lincoln; the motives they had for secession, and the grounds upon which they believed they would succeed in establishing a slave empire. The speaker contended that in no one thing had their hopes been more completely blasted than in the matter of cotton. Founding his calculations upon the most authentic data, he estimated that the supply of cotton which India, China, and Japan, Egypt, Turkey, and Greece, South America, Italy, and the Mediterranean, the West Indies, Africa, the South Seas, etc., would yield in the year 1864, would be 3,265,000 bales, and after deducting 625,000 bales for exportation sufficient would be left to employ every operative in the manufacturing districts (loud cheers.) Mr. Thompson entered into numerous facts to show that the condition of the operatives was daily improving, and that a bright prospect was opening for the future. Whatever might be the issue of the war, it would have the effect of making us no longer dependent upon any one country for cotton, but henceforth we should receive it as we received other commodities—from every part of the world in which they are grown. He then showed the retribution which had overtaken the South by the overthrow of their idol and the total failure of all their expectations that a dearth of cotton would compel England and France to espouse their cause, and concluded an eloquent and exhaustive address amid loud applause. On the motion of Mr. R. Moore, seconded by the Rev. E. Mathews, a resolution thanking the lecturer, and expressing gratification that England would be no longer dependent upon slave-grown cotton, was unanimously passed.—*London Dial.*

WITTY RETORT.—One of our village damsels, says the Aberdeen *Herald*, who was digging the potatoes for the family dinner, was thus accosted by an English gentleman of rather dwarfish proportions, who stood scarcely five feet in his shoes: "Are these good potatoes, 'girl?" "Pretty fair," she replied. "Do potatoes grow well in this cold country?" "Better than men do in yours, if you are to be taken as a specimen," she smartly answered. The small gentleman vanished, muttering something, inaudibly to himself.

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